1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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173 have been the original inhabitants of these parts for a much longer
167 period than can be claimed for their aristocracy.

The chief Talense 'towns', in the sense with which we are now
103 familiar, are as follows: Tɔngo, Bade, Gorogo, Si, Winduri, Ten'zugu,
101 Tilega, Yamdiga, Biuŋ, Siega, Duse, Datoko, Gbee, Kpantia, Kpale, Wakyiga, Gbeogo, Zandoya, and Gbea. These settlements, including the subjects of the Chief of Kurugu, now constitute the Talense tribe.

173 *History of Tɔngo* (as told me by the present Chief, Kpama): 'We
(i.e. his ancestors) came from Mampurugu, which we left owing to a
● 622 quarrel between *Misore* and his younger brother—whose name we do not know—about the Chieftainship. *Misore* left Mampurugu in consequence and came first to Boŋo, thence to Saamere; from there he passed through a dense bush and came to the hills. (The Tɔng hills.) At the foot of these hills we found a people whom our ancestors called Gundugo or Talense. We intermarried with these people and have all become Talense. *Misore* died here; his grave is marked by a big baobab tree. He was succeeded by his son, *Seyene*, who, now that his father was dead, returned to Mampurugu[1] and received from the Chief the Chieftainship of Tɔngo. *Seyene* died, and was succeeded by his brother, *Nambogeda*, who also returned to Mampurugu to ask for the Chieftainship. He died, and was succeeded by his younger brother, *Bɔyayeret*, a son of *Seyene*. About this time, the Chief of Mampurugu made one of his son's Chief of Kurugu, and placed Tɔngo under Kurugu. *Bɔyayeret* was succeeded by his "brother" *Sayepele*, a son of *Seyene*, who reported to Kurugu and held his Chieftainship from that ruler. *Sayepele* was succeeded by his brother *Nodeyene* (lit. Short-fowl). *Nodeyene* was succeeded by his younger brother, *Lebsekora* (Old-things-change). He, in turn, was succeeded by *Kusii* (Worn-out-hoe), a son of *Bɔyayaret*. He was succeeded by *Bileu*, who was succeeded by *Lobsaab* (Throw-away-food), his brother, who, in turn, was succeeded by *Belemsale*, his half-brother, who was succeeded by *Belemboo*, a son of *Kusii*. In his time a great famine came, and many people were sold (to the Dagomba). He was succeeded by *Kabu*, a son of *Lobsaab*. *Lobsaab* was succeeded by *Sapelega* (White-clouds), a half-brother of *Kabu*. *Sapelega* was succeeded by *Kakora*, a son of *Bileu*. He was followed by *Nekay*, a son of *Kusii*; followed by *Pɛbeban*, son of *Belemsale*; *Sagbon* (Dark-cloud), *Lebenwana*, *Bupaa*, son of *Kusii*;

[1] Mampurugu, as we shall see later, was the seat of the Head of the foreign element, who, coming somewhere from the eastward, had founded the empires of Mampruse, Moshi, and Dagomba.

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Lebzure, *Kunwase* (You-do-not-stroke-a-snake), son of *Lebkura*. In his time we fired arrows at the people on the Tong hills; there was a famine and we used to rob them. All the people, except Winkonɔ and Sia, rose against us, saying we were too proud. *Kunwase* was succeeded by *Kundizore* (Water-cannot-pull-down-a-hill), a son of *Sapelega*. There was also a war in his time which arose out of a quarrel during a hunting expedition, in which Bade and Yazore had taken part. Small-pox (called *Naba*, the Chief) also broke out in his time. *Kundizore* was succeeded by *Nalebseyo* (It-will-change-to-the-wet-season), son of *Kabu*. He was succeeded by *Pilibazaa* (Cover-them-all), son of *Bupaa*. During his time the Europeans came. *Pilibazaa* was taken by the white men to Gambaga and asked to pay two hundred cows because the Tɔng people had fired arrows at them (the Europeans). He died at Gambaga and was succeeded by *Kunbanbeo* (Cannot-know-to-morrow), a son of *Kundizore*. He was succeeded by *Yirisano* (Destroyer-of-compounds), alias *Dentele*, a son of *Lebenwana*. In his time the Europeans came and asked the Hill-people (Teŋ-zugu) to come and see them, but they refused. He was succeeded by myself, *Kpama*, son of *Pilibazaa*. I brought my father's bones from Gambaga, and they were buried outside his compound.'

The above list comprises twenty-eight names, and, with other similar genealogies, supplies us with an approximate estimate of the time when the foreigners from Mampurugu first extended their influence to embrace this area. The names of these Chiefs as here given are their titles only; it is forbidden to mention their real names. Such nicknames are called *sam-wur* in Talene, *saan-yure* in Nankane.

The ruling house at Tongo belongs to the *gwegmere* (lion) clan. When I recorded the above and the other histories which follow I had not as yet grasped the full significance of what I came to discover later, namely, that in recording the history of these migrations as supplied by the Chiefs, I was really only tracing the origins of a minute section of the population, i.e. of those who formed the upper ruling class, and not of their subjects, who formed the mass of the people. In consequence I am unable, in the present instance, to specify the clans to which the majority of the inhabitants of the 'towns', already given, really belong. In my notebooks I find these clans, in nearly every case, recorded as 'the lion clan'. This is only due, however, to my having fallen into the error of failing to distinguish between rulers and ruled, and imagining the histories told me by Chiefs and their following to be applicable also to their subjects. I do not make any apology however,

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for the inclusion here of such records, as, once their limitations and significance are realized, they, equally with other information recorded, go to form part of the composite picture which I am attempting to draw of the traditions of these people.

History of Siega (as told me by the Chief Zoaga): 'We came from Mampurugu at the same time as *Misore* (see previous history). The Winkonɔ people are related to us (he refers, I believe, to the Chief of that place). My clan is lion; I am the seventeenth Chief of Siega. The Chieftainship is under (the patronage of) Kurugu and can descend to any one of the lion clan. My first-born also taboos a fowl. We have had a Chief, distinct from *Ten'dan'*, since ancient times. The first Chief of Siega was *Kukye*.'

History of Datoko (as told me by the present Chief, Borezina): 'We came from Mampurugu, but not with *Misore*. We travelled by way of Nuŋ (Nungo); from Nuŋ to Tula; from Tula to Kumbule; from Kumbule to Datoko. We met the Kusase people in the land, but drove them across the river (Volta). We marry the Kusase. We are of the lion clan. Chiefs of Datoko are appointed by Kurugu. The man who gives most presents becomes the new Chief, and on obtaining the Chieftainship will try to recover what he has paid. Now Chiefs are made by Government, but still go to Kurugu to receive the *muŋ'* (red fez). I am the son of the late Chief, and am ninth of my line. Datoko has six sections (*Yi-zug'*); each section, since Europeans came, is in charge of a *kambon-nab* (head gunman). Since ancient times we have had *Ten'dan'*. Their work and the Chiefs' work are separate. I settle all cases. The *Ten'dan'* performs the ceremonies when the rain does not fall, unless it is at my own *tengzan* (Nankane, *tingane*), when I perform the sacrifices.' (Here, it will be noticed, the *kambon-nab*, appointed by the Chief (who, when a vacancy occurs, bids with the other applicants for the post), are ousting the old time section-heads, called in Talene, *yi-zug-kpaem*, who have been forced into the background. The *Ten'dan'* (Nankane, *Ten'dana*) has also become more or less a nonentity.)

History of Ten'zugu (as told me by Ten'goli): 'My ancestor came from Nasia; he was called *Sumri* and was a son of the Chief of Mampurugu. When his father died he wished to succeed him, but was driven away and came to Bulbi. His enemies followed him there, and again he fled and came to Daa, at the foot of the Tong hills. Later he went on top of the hill and settled there. He found some people called Dagali. They were Talense. We married with them. The Dagali people

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belong to the *Sensereg* (squirrel) clan. We were told by them that the hill did not permit "arrows on the arms," i.e. war. We, too, said we did not want bloodshed. When the *gologo* festival came, we all met on top of the hill and danced. At this festival, the *Ten'dan'* of Dagoli and myself made beer and sacrificed to the land. A month later we sowed.' (I had purposely allowed the Chief to digress from the subject; he now continued.) 'When we came from Nasia we did not see any one here, except the Dagoli people. The Tongo people (see history) had not yet arrived from Mampurugu (near Gambaga). The Dagali had no Chiefs, only *Ten'dan'*; they wore skins. *Sumri* did not become a *Na* (Chief), because he never went back to receive his Chieftainship from Mampurugu. He became *golog'dana* (owner of the drums). The first of my ancestors to go to Mampurugu to get the Chieftainship was *Kumalbeo*; he went to *Na Paya*, the "grandfather" of the present Chief of Mampurugu. He was succeeded by *Atabea*, called after the Chief of Mampurugu, who was his *seyr'* (guardian spirit); Nankane, *segere*.) He was afraid to go to Gambaga because the Europeans were there; he fought with the Europeans because he was told that they had come to take away our land. I am Atabea's son. I was made Chief by the Europeans, but have not yet been confirmed by *Naleregu* (i.e. by the Chief of Mampruse).'

With reference to the title 'owner of the drums', I asked this informant if a man could not become a Chief in a new country independently of Mampurugu. He replied he could not do so unless 'he went to Mampurugu (near the present town of Naleregu, the former capital of the Mampruse State) whence spread all the black race.'

History of Yamdiga (as told me by the Chief): 'We came from Mampurugu; my *Yaba* (ancestor) was *Misore*, as was that of Tongo, Beug, and Siega. My ancestor was *Kamuni*, the eldest son of *Misore*; he was of the lion clan. The Chiefs of Yamdiga have been the following: *Gyenkaret*, *Nantog*, *Nakpeleg*, *Gingano*, *Mwampark*, *Nabsobug*, *Lebbaba*, *Na-kaba*, *Kungazur*, *Kunzerpuk*, *Kunoyokurt*, *Kosom*, *Lebdo*, and *Yinsagbeg* (lit. God's food, the present Chief). We have now become Talense; we no longer circumcise, because the local people would not marry us. The Chief of Kurugu, our "father," still speaks Mampelle, but we no longer do so.'

History of Biun: 'We came from Naleregu (Mampruse), with *Misore*. Our clan is the lion clan; we also taboo goat, and our first-born do not eat a fowl, and women, after reaching puberty, do not eat fowls. We eat goat's flesh, but do not wear its skin until death, when we are

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173 buried in it. Our first Chief was *Nopeog*. The present Chief is the
●622 thirteenth of his line. There are no *Ten'dan'* at Biun[1]; the Chief per-
[304] forms sacrifices. We no longer circumcise. Our Chiefs get the red fez from Kurugu. We no longer speak Dagwanert' (Dagomba).

173 The history of the ruling class of almost every Talense town follows
565 these lines. This upper class were scions of the Kings of Mampruse, from which place, according to themselves, the black race, i.e. the upper classes of Moshi, Dagomba, and Mampruse—and, just possibly, Ashanti—sprang.

178 The *Ten'dan'*, among the Talense, have for the most part fallen upon evil days. One old grey-beard, whom I came to know well enough for him to feel he could express his thoughts to me without fear or evasion, said, 'We were once the owners of this land; since the scorpion Europeans came we have entered into holes. You have burned our bows and arrows; we once were keepers of the moons' (referring to the fact that the *Ten'dan'* knew the time for certain annual festivals and kept the calendars.

618 *Clans*: The word for clan—a patrilineal and exogamous division—
128 is *burt*, pl. *bura*. As already stated above, I omitted to make exhaustive enquiries as to the clans to which the majority of the common people in each *tey* (settlement) belonged, merely recording in my notebook at the time what I had been told by the various Chiefs or their satellites, with the result that, in almost every case, I have written 'lion clan' opposite the names of the various Talense settlements. In the light of subsequent experience, I now am positive that this statement requires considerable qualification. What I recorded was really only the clan of the particular kindred-group who supplied the ruler. Had I made more extensive enquiries it would, I am certain, have been found that in each *tey* (town, Nankanse *teya*) there was a predominant, if not a single, group belonging to one or another of the clans with whose names we have now become acquainted in dealing with the Nankanse, in addition to the lion clan of the Territorial Ruler. I have, in fact, a note to the effect that the majority of the people of *Tɔnzu* appear to be of the *Ye-ba* (leopard clan), and that certain of my informants state they belong to the *Sakur* (tortoise), *Mey* (water-turtle), *Sako* (a wild cat ?), *Nwan* (monkey) and *Waf'* (python), clans.

173 'I rise (after death) a *sako*', said one informant, "that is my *burt* (clan),
784 but I also taboo *sakur* and *mey*. My ancestor *Tamperypeleg* (white-

[1] This, I was later informed, was not the case, but my informants did not wish the correct facts to be known.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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land. The *Ten'dan'* of Bade also told *Misore* about the festival of the 'bad water-moon.'[1]

The Territorial Ruler: The position of the territorial rulers among the Talense appears to be so similar to that already described when discussing the neighbouring tribe, the Nankanse, as to leave little or nothing to add to what has been recorded. The Talense Chiefs go to Kurugu for their 'red fez.' When a vacancy occurs, there is a scramble among those eligible to fill the vacancy, one vying with another for the post, which, as likely as not, falls to the highest bidder. This method of selection would appear to have very little to recommend it, save that it appears to have been in vogue before our advent in these parts. No doubt it does not 'pay' the Chief, in whose hands the selection lies, to appoint a man who is wholly unacceptable to the people, and the 'presents' tendered on these occasions seem to have been a recognized and not unimportant portion of the revenues accruing to a head Chief. The custom becomes, perhaps, more subject to abuse when we find it practised in turn by the lesser Chiefs in the appointment of the *kambon na*, who, as I have already stated, often seem to usurp the positions which should by right be held by the section-leaders.

In an old 'District Record Book,' at Zuargu, under a date of nearly twenty years ago, I found a note, of which the following is an extract. It refers, I think, more especially to those Chiefs whom I have named 'Government-made-Chiefs': 'The people look with suspicion on any one who prospers and becomes the owner of property, or on any of their so-called 'Chiefs,' who, backed up by us, "put on airs," and try to assume control over the people. The Chiefs have no prestige, no historical names to quote as their predecessors.' This is as true to-day as it was twenty years ago.

The position of the head of a family and of other members of his household among the Talense does not exhibit any features with which we are not already familiar. The following is an additional note on pawns.

Talem (pawns): A man may want to get money to become a Chief and pawn (verb, *nwe talema*) his son. If he is head of a house, he need not ask any one's permission; if not, he will consult his father or elder brother. 'A pawn's head is not shaved as is a slave's.' A boy is pawned for from one to four cows. The debtor is *sandan*, the creditor *bondam*. If the *talem* dies, the *sandan* still has to pay. Famine might cause a man to pawn or sell his son. 'If you sell any one, you give the *Ten'dan'* a goat or a fowl because the land does not agree to that (*tey npu sayera.*)'

[1] See Chapter XXVI.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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white one) and a goat (any colour but white) and some flour and water. I give the flour-water first, saying: "My father, accept this water, drink, and give it to this earth; death has killed and they have called me and taken their fowl and goat and given them to you because they will beat your head; because of this they say that I must receive and give to you".

'The fowl is then killed beside the grave: "My father, receive and give to the land." The goat is killed and its blood caught in a red pot. The fowl is roasted whole. The goat is skinned and the flesh divided; I take a hind leg, the head, neck, liver, and skin. We all eat at the grave-side. A small piece of each sacrifice is put on the land. The corpse is brought and taken from its mat; it is buried naked save for a goat-skin. The corpse is laid on its right side, knees drawn up, hands folded under the cheeks. If the dead is a male, he faces east, because a man is always impatient for dawn. A woman is buried facing the setting sun because she is always so busy that she says, "The sun is setting, I shall not have time to grind; I shall not have time to get my husband's food." As the body is being lowered I say to the land, "Receive your thing, let it go inside nicely".' A stone is placed over the entrance of the grave. The *Ten'dan'* takes a hoe and scrapes up some earth from each side over the stone; others then complete the work.'

Figs. 64–5 show Talense graves. Fig. 64 is that of a Chief. I do not think that there is any doubt but that the design of the spirit shrines were originally copied from such structures. The shape of a Talense grave within, is, I am informed, like that already described, i.e. more or less circular with a bottle-neck. Chiefs, who, as we have seen, are of Mampruse origin, are buried in their own compound in a room which is broken down after the funeral custom.[1] The grave of a Chief is called *duye*, that of a commoner *yeo*. Chiefs are sacrificed to on the *duye* by the eldest son. 'When a man or woman dies, he or she will become an axe or bangle.'

Shrines: Talense shrines and the cult associated with them appear to be very similar to those of the Nankanse. I propose to take my reader round the compound of my friend Sayebere, a *Ten'dan'* of Tongo (see frontispiece), and let him describe in his own words the various shrines which are there encountered. Outside the compound walls is a pot set on stones, containing, he said, ground roots and earth. On top of the pot is a head-rest, smeared with the feathers of past sacrifices, and on top of this again, a stone. This fetish (*tim*, lit. 'medi-

[1] A room near the outside is chosen.

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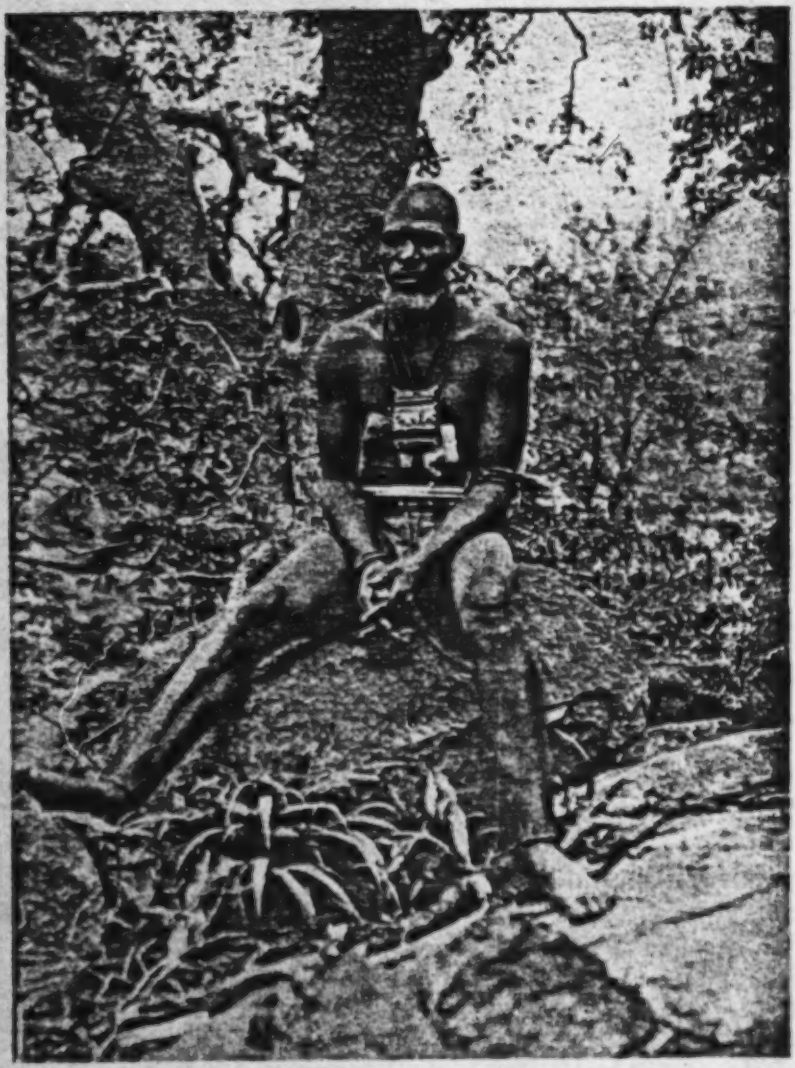

FIG. 73. The Chief of Ten'zugu

[facing p. 362]

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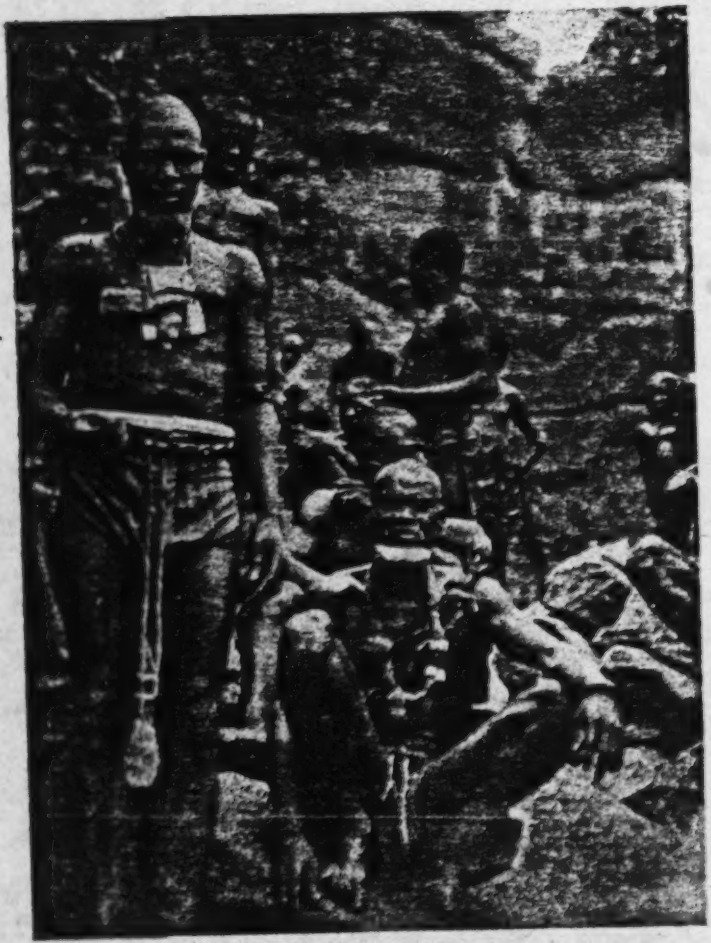

Fig. 74. 'The Chief of Tenʃ'zugu and the *Ten'dan*' arrived'

[facing p. 363]

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XXXVIII

THE NAMNAM

History, Tribal and Clan Organization

THE Namnam (*Anglice* Nabdams) are a tribe numbering 8,063. They inhabit the triangular strip of country bounded on the east by the Red Volta; the Talense lie to the south, the Nankanse on the west. They are among the smallest of the Northern Territory tribes. The people call themselves Namnam (sing. Nabt), the language Nabte, and their country Nabrug. The Namnam call the Kasena, Yuls, and the Nankanse, Gurse; the Kanjagas, Bulse, and the Mampruse and Dagomba, Dagbwan. Specimens of the Nabte language have been given in Chapter III.

The capital town (*teya*) of the head Chief is Nangoot (*Anglice* Nangode). The following history was given me by the head Chief: 'Our first ancestors were called *Loro* and *Zan*. *Zan* is the name of a tree which was this ancestor's *segere*. There was a quarrel about the Chieftainship at Naleruk (Naleregu, near Gambaga) and these ancestors of ours, who were full brothers, left Gambaga and first settled near a place called Gos, in the Kusase country. There was nothing but thorn scrub there, so the place was named Namgoel, "the Chieftainship of thorns". We quarrelled with the Kusase and came here and gave the place its name. When we came here, we found a people who had not any Chiefs, only *Ten'danam* (*Ten'dama*). They spoke the language now called Nabte. Our people followed *Loro*, and *Zan* became the first Chief. He died and is buried here. The people whom we overtook here, we called Namnam. We became their Chiefs. We own the people, the *Ten'danam* own the land. The present *Ten'dan'* is called Biriwanab, his grove (*tengwan*) is known as Dakyirig. The *Ten'dan'* makes sacrifices to the land. *Ten'danam* are like your European doctors. *Zan* was succeeded by *Dyeten*. I think he was *Zan's* son, but it is a long time ago. Each Chief when he dies has a stone which is bathed, rubbed over with shea butter, and kept in the compound of the new Chief in a room. These stones are called *kpwim kuga* (spirit-stones). A sacrifice is made once a year to them. *Dyeten* was succeeded by *Pubuge*. During his time, we heard that the black gun-men (Ashanti?) came with war and reached Akorog (lit. the River). We met them with arrows and had many men taken captive.

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'Any one who fights with guns we call *Kambonse*. *Pubuge* was succeeded by *Isaka*—we Dagomba were accustomed to give such Mohammedan names to our children. No European had as yet come to our country. We kept in touch with Naleregu, and our Chiefs receive the red fez from Naleregu to this day. *Isaka* was succeeded by *Konteem* (Fail-to-think). He was succeeded by *Bazirene* (They-do-not know that). He was succeeded by *Lamsin*, *Dayi*, *Kapeon*, *Too*, *Yelazoo* (Palavers-in-plenty), *Zure*, and *Nwena*. In his (*Nwena's*) time, the white man came; we fired at them with arrows as they passed. *Nwena* was succeeded by *Yi* (Tree); a tree was his *segere*. During his time, the Europeans asked him to make a road between Navaro and Bawku, but he refused. *Yi* was killed by his own people, because they thought he was conspiring with the Europeans. I myself, *Zuru II*, ran to Bawku and thence to Gambaga and came with Captain Welim (Wheeler?) and we fought and many people were killed; after which peace came.

'Our ancestors were Dagomba,[1] now we are all Namnam. We marry with Kusase, Gruse, Talense. We formerly circumcised.[2] Our ancestors had no marks, but now we tattoo like the Nankanse. I was cut at Do, near Bono. Namnam women have a special marking called *ta velim* (lit. fine marks), running from the nose across the cheeks and round the neck ending on the shoulders.'

Clans: 'The clan (*bura*) of Chiefs is the big-snake clan, *Wa'tetaam* (python). All the fifteen Chiefs who preceded me were of this clan. A python once showed an ancestor where to get water. The people have their own clans.'[3]

Namnam Towns under Nangode: Nangoot (where the head Chief lives), Peluno, Damologo, Tendono, Logode, Dagelega, Zanleregu, Son, Dakyigu, Mosi, Kono, Dobila, Sapare, Dasablego, Gono, Zoga, Yokote, Nyoboka.[4] Each of these towns is known as a *teya*.

Constitution of Namnam Teya: Each *teya* is divided into a number of *yi zut* (sing. *yi zugo*) sections; each section is under a *yi-zu-kpwema* (Elder of a section); all the sections are under one *Kambon-nab* appointed by the head Chief. The head Chief, an exceptionally fine

[1] He does not make any distinction between Mampruse and Dagomba.

[2] The Namnam women have the clitoris removed at the age of puberty.

[3] I, unfortunately, went down with fever and had to cut short my stay with the Namnam before I had made a record of these.

[4] Datoko, Namoo, Sakote, and Dusi are Namnam settlements, but not under the Chief of Nangode.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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and intelligent man (see Fig. 79), informed me this was the constitution long before the Europeans came. 'A *Kambon-nab*', he said, 'is succeeded by any one who asks for the post, but if there are many applicants, the wishes of the people of the *teya* were taken into consideration.'

Tribute: The head Chief stated that he received yearly tribute of corn, ground-nuts, and beans, and that friends for whom he settled cases would 'thank him with a sheep'. He also received presents from the *teya* heads, whose appointment lay with him.

'When a beast is killed in hunting, the whole beast is given to the section-head of the hunter who killed it. He, in turn, sends a hind leg to the *Kambon-naba*, who sends it to the Chief, who shares it with the *Kambonnannam*.'

Work of Section-heads: Ten'dan': The Territorial Ruler: 'The section-heads settled adultery cases. If blood were shed on the land or any one was killed, or if rain did not fall, a cow or sheep or goat was given by the Chief to the *Ten'dan*' to sacrifice and purify the land. Now-a-days most Chiefs do not do so. Before you Europeans came, we Chiefs recognized the *Ten'dan*'. The reason others do not do so now is, that since Europeans came, many new Chiefs have been made, who know nothing about Chieftainship and only want to look after their own bellies. I myself have continued the old things. After the sowing we collect things and give to him (the *Ten'dan*') to sacrifice. I have not, like most Chiefs, taken away the *dawa dawa* trees from the *Ten'dan*'; when I am in need of some, I buy what I require. Formerly Chiefs ate out of calabashes, now they try to eat out of a basket.'

Heads of sections, of whom there are four at Nangoot (in charge of the sections known as *Zoa'bis*, *Beam-bis*, *Isaka bis*, and *Kpea-bis*),[1] report to the *Kambon-naba*, who in turn report to the Chief.

The Chief of Nangode, with whom I was very much impressed, informed me that he had continued the old system of Native Administration, although 'few other Chiefs now do so, which causes the spirits in the groves to lament'.

The Ten'dan': The following was told me by the *Ten'dan*' of Nangode (see Fig. 80): 'My ancestor owned the land. I was head *Ten'dan*' (*Ten'dan' kpwem*). The Europeans have given power to the Chiefs, who now own the land. My ancestors owned *dawa dawa* trees, and lost beasts, and when men shot arrows and killed any one, a cow was given to purify the land. When some one wanted to build a new house,

[1] *Bis*—children, i.e. descendants.

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FIG. 79. The Chief of the Namnam

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FIG. 80. A Namnam *Ten'dan'*

[facing p. 368]

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he would ask the *Ten'dan*' and be given a place to build, or a place to farm. After the harvest of the early millet, they would send millet to give "water" to the groves, and so too, after the corn harvest. If blood came from any one, except from the nose, and fell upon the land, the *Ten'dan*' had to purify it. If Chiefs sold any man in exchange for cattle, the *Ten'dan* was given one to give to the land, but when people were sold in a time of famine in exchange for food it was not customary to give anything, but the land would be angry and kill a member of that family who had sold their kinsman, even (extending its vengeance) to a member of their daughter's family who had married far away. The land is a female and "above" is a male. When I sacrifice I call upon my father to "reach" his father who will "reach" the grove. Birth, crops, the getting of wives, good sleep, depend upon the land, who tells *Wen* (God). When two people were about to fight, and the *Ten'dan*' went to stop them, he would lay down his staff between them and no man might shoot arrows over that. The staff is a corn stalk. Any one who disregarded that would die. *Tobeg*' and *taku*[1] have not anything to do with the *Ten'dan*'.

The Position of the Ten'dan' in Cases of Adultery, Theft, Murder, and Suicide.

Adultery: 'The head of the section settled such cases; it was not formerly a Chief's concern.'

Theft: 'In case of theft, the thief, if caught, would be taken to the one who "owned" (i.e. was responsible for) him, who would settle the matter. If the parties could not agree, the matter was taken to the head of the section, who would take it if necessary to the Chief. Since Europeans came we have the *Kambon-nab*'.'[2]

Murder: 'If a man from Nangoot was killed (murdered?) by a man from (say) Pelino, and the slayer was caught, he would be killed by those who chased him. Afterwards, the Pelino people would bring cows, and the people of Nangoot also, and give to the Chief who would then give some to the *Ten'dan*', keeping the remainder to purify his skins. There is a hole below the skin on which a Chief sits for the blood to flow. The family who had had a member murdered did not receive anything. The Pelino people and the Nangoot people concerned would mix the flour and water which each will bring and make peace. Were the Pelino man, in such a case, to escape, and if the

[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

[2] According to the Chief, these officials were part of the old administration.

[Nankanse concepts apply to persons who have directly and indirectly committed a murder — Analyst]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932
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Nangoot people wished to make war on them, the *Ten'dan'* would stop them. The murderer will thus escape. The head Chief had not any power to tell the *Kambon-nab'* of the murderer's *teya* to hand him over, but he would bring cows and purify the land.

'When murderer and murdered man were from the same *teya* or same section, the murderer was not tried or killed, but he would have to leave the town. If he remained behind, and heard the funeral custom of his victim, or if he ate any food or drank any water in which the dead man's cloth had been dipped, he would die. His family would bring a cow, sheep, and goat to the Chief. The cow was handed to the *Ten'dan'*, who gave it to the land, saying, "A young rascal has destroyed, and they have brought their gifts, that I may receive and give you, that you may hide the sin, and that people may sleep (lit. that sleep may sleep), the corn bloom, child-bearing continue, and marriages be celebrated".

'A *Ten'dan'* was not allowed to ask the land to punish any one.[1] He could not do so; the land must not hate any one, but love all men alike, even murderers. The murderer would leave with his wife and family and never return. He might go to his in-laws; if he were ever to return, he would die, the *tobog'* of the murdered man would kill him.'[2]

Suicide (*Ko-fo-meya*): 'The family of the suicide took a cow, a sheep, and a goat and handed them to the Chief, who gave the cow to the *Ten'dan'* for the land. He sacrificed it, saying: "A man has made heart (i.e. got angry) and killed himself; that is finished, but a wife remains, a boy remains, let them sleep well; do not let this same thing return". A suicide had already spoken before birth; he had made a vow, he would die as a man, *buda kum*.'[3]

All important matters were discussed by the Chief, *Ten'dan'*, and section-heads.

Succession to Ten'dan': 'When a *Ten'dan'* died, and while his funeral custom was being made, they called a *bay* (soothsayer), meeting at the *zoy* hut, outside the compound, and, in the presence of the Elders, but not of the Chief, consulted and selected a new *Ten'dan'*. Any one might become *Ten'dan'* except any member of the Chief's family. A brother might succeed a brother.'[4]

[1] But see p. 376.

[2] There seems here a clear distinction between murdering or killing a clansman and a stranger.

[3] A natural death is often known as *bum pok kum* (a woman's death).

[4] This is not so among the Nankanse.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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kills a beast, I receive some, not otherwise. I own the land in the bush, not so the *Godan*.

'Things found on the land, except beads, belong to the *Ten'dan*', also lost fowls, iron, worked or unworked, goats, sheep, and cows. A horse or a donkey goes to the Chief; these are not permitted to enter my kraal. If any one found these things and kept them, his home would break. The finder of beads, guinea-fowls, a cloth, cowries, may keep them if not claimed, but if the cowries[1] were many, he would give some to the Chief and to the *Ten'dan*'. A lost child belongs to the Chief; it is forbidden for a *Ten'dan*' to take such a one, she may not eat anything with hairs (i.e. a person).'

Tattooing: A *Ten'dan*' must not have tattoo marks, but markings called *Taavelem* do not matter.[2]

Harvest Festivals: 'Beans, ground-nuts, and new crops must first be given to the groves, after which every one may eat. Only naked people may go to the groves. A *Ten'dan*' has to be so careful not to eat new crops before the groves have done so, that, when the corn is ripening, his water-pots have to be covered over to prevent any grain from being blown into them.' He concluded the above by stating: 'Our ancestors did not come from any other place. *Na Wen* (God) created our *Yaba* and allowed him to be on the land. No stranger can possess *ten-kur* (land stones).[3] Formerly we called our land Zug, and there were only thorns upon it. Then the Dagbama (Dagomba) came and ate the Chieftainship and called the land Gohe-nam or Nangoot. Our mother's children are the *Ten'dan*' of Pals (near Zuarono). They went there from this place. Our taboo is red clay; we do not use it for plastering the walls of compounds.'[4]

A rapid survey of other matters, fully described in previous chapters, revealed everywhere a uniform similarity in customs and beliefs with those of their neighbours. A more intensive investigation will no doubt reveal differences in detail here and there, but the task of recording these I must leave to others and pass on to examine the next tribe, the Kusase.

[1] See p. 378.
[2] This prohibition was, I was informed, only local.
[3] See p. 256.
[4] See footnote 6, p. 244.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

Kusase, being founded by the ruling class. Timoni, another settlement, now included among and talking Kusal, are really Buls' (Builsa).

My informants stated that the Nabt of Kugri, who taboo the heart of an animal, and the Nabt of Timpale, who taboo a fish, formerly did not intermarry but now do so. I was also informed that at Pusig' there is a clan (?) called Narem whose totem is *naf zur* (a cow tail), but that these people, though now talking Kusal, were formerly Bimoba.

From the above it would appear that we had here among the Kusase, two endogamous clans, Zuos and Nabt, a third having been lately added by the breaking away of a branch of the former which had acquired a sub-totem, i.e. the fish, while other clans which may be found in this area are those introduced by the influx of other tribes, Bimoba, Builsa, and Mampruse. In other words, there are signs of the dual organization having existed there. Proof of this supposition must, however, await a fuller and more minute investigation. A parallel to this will, as we shall see later, be found among a neighbouring tribe, the Tampolense (see Chapter LVI).

The blood-related kindred-groups found among the Nankanse, &c., also exist here, being known as *sog*. Again we find the taint of witchcraft transmitted only down this line. 'If your mother "cannot see", if your mother is "blind", all her descendants through the female line are also blind. This relationship is called *sog*. *Soe* is a witch. To "see" is a bad thing. In old days if we found a witch we wanted to tie him up and beat him until he died. You cannot leave a person who is eating people; he will spoil the world. As the Elders sit and converse at night, they will see a fire flickering *ta ta ta* at some compound, and when some one dies, the *baa* (soothsayer) will find out that there is a witch in that compound. Many people can "see" but do not eat people. The children of witches are the beautiful women whom men love the most. In olden times when a witch killed your child or "brother" you would want to kill him, but others would beg you to forgive him.'

Traditions of the Kusase: 'When the Mampruse came from Gambaga, they found us here. In old days we only knew *Tenedan'* and had no *Na* (Territorial Ruler). We have always been here. Even when we move about in the locality and overtake some other people, we sacrifice to the land. *Tenedan' da moro ti* (the *Tenedan'* had us), we did not know what is now called *Nam* (Chieftainship). When anything happened, we all met and gave him (the *Tenedan'*) things to sacrifice and thus gained life and grain. The *Tenedan'* had power; when any one refused to obey him he would strike the land (*nwe tey*) and that person would

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

173 622 793 die. He would tap the land with his fingers and say, "*Tey ya be, zagala saam ka nees tey la okom*" (If such a thing as the land really is, (here is) So-and-so who has offended and treated you as of no account, may you kill him).[1] The land will break his compound; his fowls, goats, sheep, children, wives will die. The offender would approach an Elder and "beat his hands" and ask him to intercede with the *Tenedan*' on his behalf. Chiefs now own the people, but *Tenedan*' still own the land. The first Chief of Kagbiri was my father. He was *Tenedan*' at the time when the Germans made him Chief. The present Chief is Ati, he is my father's child (i.e. son of the speaker's father's brother). My father, after the Germans made him Chief, used to delegate the work of *Tenedan*' to me, so when he died and Ati was made Chief we continued to do the same.'

177 793 622 171 At this place (Kagbiri) so far as I could see, we find the Territorial Ruler (who is not a foreigner, but one of the family of the former *Tenedan*'), and the *Tenedan*', 'his brother', working in complete harmony. The Germans, it will be noted, whether by accident or design, had made the *Tenedan*' also the Territorial Ruler. The significance of the rather curious and suggestive procedure—which I have also noted elsewhere—whereby a *Tenedan*' who, by chance, has become Chief, delegates the religious part of his duties to another, should not be overlooked. The multifarious administrative and executive duties, which the Territorial Ruler is asked by us to undertake, cannot be wholly responsible for this. This may be proved by an examination of the position of a Chief in Ashanti, where these two functions—religious and secular—are combined in one person. Perhaps the bad example set by the majority of foreign Chiefs in these parts, who were always unconcerned with local land-gods, may partly account for this. On the other hand, it must not be overlooked, that by far the most important religious duties performed by Ashanti Chiefs for their people are the ceremonies in connexion with their own ancestral spirits, in which their subjects now join, and not those rites in connexion with the land, which has tended to become alienated, although theoretically they still belong to the Stool. Many Northern Territory Rulers, while ignoring land gods, would, nevertheless, lay claim to the land. The following are some further notes on the duties and privileges of the *Tenedan*' among the Kusase.

793 [787] 'When the rain does not fall, the Elders consult the soothsayer and report to the *Tenedan*' what the *baa* (soothsayer) has told them. The

[1] Compare p. 370 (i.e. different practice among Namnam)

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Na Naam Bion, Chief of Tongo (d. 1941), wearing his red fez (*muy*) the chief emblem of his office, and clad in his finest ceremonial robes.

[Frontispiece]
[Facing p. iii]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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has brought them. But in the background there still lurk traces of fear and suspicion, a sense of the inscrutability of the white man.

The influence of British rule has naturally been most marked in Tale political life. At first it was directed towards two main ends: to maintain the peace between the Administration and the native communities as well as amongst the latter, and to ensure a sufficient supply of labour and local materials from the native population for keeping up roads and rest houses. The Administrative officers laid down boundaries, meted out justice, and backed up chiefs and headmen, mostly appointed by themselves, in the exercise of coercive powers over the mass of the people. Nothing was known about the country or the people, and the Administrative officers had to rely on their own sense of justice and their own ideas of what was in the interests of the population. The natives look back on this period with few regrets. They describe it as a time when extortion was widely practised not only by the police, the soldiers, the interpreters, and others who stood between them and the District Commissioners, but also by their newly empowered chiefs and headmen. They learnt to think of any official or unofficial servant of the white man as armed with arbitrary authority which it would be futile to resist.

The outstanding political changes due to this period were the authority given to chiefs and headmen, and the unofficial tribunals held by them. These grew up gradually out of the need to keep the peace; for the ancient method of settling disputes was by negotiation backed by armed self-help. From the native point of view the most valuable relic of this period is the embryonic legal system which grew up then. Armed self-help has disappeared, but some of the values connected with it remain. The other institutions of the native political organization retain their vigour. They function side by side with the institutions imposed by British rule, for they serve different ends and correspond to different values. It is often an uneasy partnership leading to insoluble conflicts. Most of the political troubles of the Tallensi since 1921 can be traced to the clash between interests and loyalties springing from the native political system and those created by the new political dispensation and its accompanying economic changes. For the first time in its history a few men of outstanding wealth have arisen in Taleland by extorting goods and services from their fellows on the strength of their political powers, or by exploiting opportunities due to the opening up of the country. And this has brought social friction in its train.

This period of British rule came to an end about 1931. Between 1931 and 1936 the Administration undertook a complete political reorganization of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. The principles of what is commonly called Indirect Rule were applied. Native Authorities were established, a graded scale of direct taxation was introduced, a policy of economic development was started, and social services were multiplied. The effects of this policy will not be discernible for some years.

Taleland is a very small portion of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. But in its culture and social structure, as in its geography and climate, it is typical of the whole plateau north of the Gambaga scarp.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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173 ideological significance as a counterweight to the Mosuor legend and
811 as a dogma of prior habitation.

[171] In the Sie district the Sawalɔg people, whose political and ceremonial relations with the Sie Namoos are exactly parallel to those of Gbizug with Tongo, also declare that their ancestor came into being miraculously, self-generated. In the identical phraseology of the people of Gbizug and Wakii, they say, 'Our ancestor descended from Heaven', or 'Our ancestor sprouted from the earth'. I once challenged the clan-head of Sawalɔg to prove how this was possible. His answer, shrewdly rationalistic, deserves to be recorded. 'We have not heard that our ancestor came from any other land. We have no other land to return to as the Sie people (immigrant Namoos) have. If they desecrate (*sayɔm*, lit. spoil) the land here, they return to their (original) land yonder (at Tongo). That is why we say that we have descended from Heaven'—an interpretation which coincides with that of Sayɔbazaa, the Namoo.

173 The covenant between Mosuor and Tɛndaan Gɛnɔt, again, accords
177 well with a myth which is but a projection into the unchallengeable past
622 of the present-day relationships between Gbizug and Tongo. The amorphous and unstandardized myths of origin with which the Hill Talis are satisfied symbolize the remarkable social integration they had achieved before their subjugation by the British in 1911. For nowadays the Hill Talis are rent by factions and by an intestine struggle for power amongst the various ritual office-holders. Rival claims are validated by citing established custom, by appealing to the memories of men, or, in the last resort, by the fabrication or distortion of myths of origin. The Administration recognizes as chiefs only those clan heads whose title is derived directly or indirectly from the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi. Hence we find the Golibdaana of Tɛnzugu justifying his pretensions to recognized chiefship by concocting, for the benefit of a white inquirer, a story of how the founder of his lineage migrated thither from Mampurugu—a story which his enemies scoff at. The Sii Bɔyaraan, on the other hand, tries to strengthen his claim to precedence by alleging not only a Mampuru origin for his ancestors, but also that they were the very first to come and settle on the Hills.

173 These new myths are part of the defensive ideologies engendered by social conflict, but they follow the axioms of Tale thought. The Tallensi have no conception of a mythological or historical past of their society when people lived and behaved differently from to-day. The past is but an extension into the days of their forefathers of the life of to-day on the same rational plane of existence. Their history is to them not a sequence of events or a progression but a continuity. All that matters of the past, which lies beyond the span of man's recollection, lives on in the social structure, the ideology, the morality, and institutions of to-day. These are the palpable proofs of things that happened '*oh ho, ti banam ni ti yaanam ni*—in the days of our forefathers and ancestors'; one can infer from them what must have been the state of society in those far-off times. Conversely, the social arrangements which prevail to-day are valid, sensible, and appropriate not only because they achieve desired ends but also because *banam ni yaanam ndaa piil na*—the forefathers and ancestors

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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its founding ancestors and its own differential line of agnatic descent. 618 X
Each sub-clan sacrifices separately to its own founding ancestor. Mosuor 769
is regarded as the common ancestor of all the sub-clans, but the cult of his shrine is the sole prerogative and duty of the Tongo branch of his posterity. According to Tale interpretation, a long period of territorial separation, bringing about political independence of one another, has inevitably resulted in the corresponding religious autonomy of each unit. A *bɔyar* cannot be separated from the grave and the home-site (*daboog*) of the ancestor it enshrines. Though the custody and cult of Mosuor's *bɔyar* are the exclusive province of the Tongo branch of the clan, because residence, lineage, and ancestor cult must have a concurrent continuity, these rights and duties are held to be exercised on behalf of the whole clan.

An unusual incident showed how the cult of Mosuor's *bɔyar* is related to the constitution of the clan. It was on the occasion of the great sacrifice to Mosuor and the other early ancestors of Tongo described below (pp. 53–4). When the beer was being distributed, a man called out that there was a young man from Yaməlag present. This was quite unprecedented. The elders began to discuss the situation vigorously. The people of Yaməlag had no right to attend such a sacrifice; but they were Mosuor's agnatic descendants, and if one of them turned up by chance, could he be excluded? 'Is not Mosuor their ancestor as well as ours?' At this point the Yaməlag man stepped forward. He said that the question was of no importance; he was not a complete outsider intruding on the ritual of people not connected with him, neither was he there as a representative of Yaməlag; he had come solely in his personal capacity, to 'scrounge' some of the beer and meat, and not to take part in the sacrifice. In short, though he could not be turned away from the sacrifice (as, say, a Zubiuŋ or Zoo man would have been) without offence to the clan ancestors, his presence there did not signify a claim by Yaməlag to be represented at such rites, nor would it establish a precedent for the future. On this understanding, so amicably reached, he was given a courtesy portion of beer and meat.

As with the ancestor cult, so with the chiefship. Each sub-clan has 618 X
its own chiefship (*na'am*), in keeping with its territorial and political 622
autonomy, but the prototypical chiefship is that of Tongo, since it was established by Mosuor. Just as the four sub-clans are 'brothers' (*sunzɔp*) to one another, so their chiefs are 'brothers' (*sunzɔp*) equal in status but graded in seniority of rank, Tongo being the most senior and Biuk the most junior.

The equality of status of the four sub-clans is paralleled in the structure 618 X
of the maximal lineage which they constitute. In their relations of clan- 554
ship they are distant 'brothers' (*sunzɔp*), treating one another as relatively autonomous lineages. A Tongo man, when his conduct is determined by the norms of clanship, thinks of Yaməlag, Sie, or Biuk as a corporate unit. Its internal structure is of no relevance to him. At any of these places, in any relations of clanship, he represents Tongo, taken as a unit, irrespective of his position in its internal structure.

The children of Mosuor think of their maximal lineage as finally and 618 X

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a cow, and by all the segments of the sub-clan—the heads bringing a sheep each, the elders next in seniority in each segment a goat each, and the junior elders bringing fowls. It was noticeable that assimilated and attached lineages also brought contributions of fowls, by express command of the chief. Never before in the memory of the oldest men had so many animals been slaughtered in sacrifice to the ancient ancestors (*yaabkɔrəg*, pl. *yaakɔrəb*) of the sub-clan on one day; and a great concourse of men of all ages, such as had never in living memory gathered for such a sacrifice, assembled for the occasion. Among them were several members of assimilated and attached lineages, but, surprisingly, none of the senior elders of these lineages. The authentic segments were there in full force, their senior elders acting as their formal representatives and taking the lead in the rites. In the days of their youth, some of the old men murmured with disapproval, only the heads of the authentic lineages used to be present at sacrifices to Mosuor. A noisy crowd of men of all ages would have been considered altogether out of keeping with so sacred and esoteric a *bɔyar* as that of the founding ancestor. But times have changed; these are the chief's orders; and if it is obligatory for every authentic lineage to be represented at such a sacrifice, it is also the right of any of their male members to participate if they wish. There were whispers, also, about 'strangers' (*saam*) being present, and I thought, at first, that they must be referring to me.

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The ceremony proceeded with the usual alternation of reverential solemnity and conviviality and lasted far into the night. But for two incidents one might have forgotten the presence of those men who by the strict canon of agnatic descent were intruders. There was a long delay at the outset while the elders of the segment which has the custody of the graves and shrines of the clan founders (Lɛbhtiis yidɛm) held a private conference at the house of their lineage head. This aroused the suspicion of some of the better informed men amongst the crowd waiting impatiently for their arrival. Next day we learnt that these suspicions were justified. Lɛbhtiis yidɛm had been debating with some acrimony, though inconclusively, what was the right line to take about the presence of members of accessory lineages.

Later, there was another hitch just before the culminating rite, the actual sacrifice to Mosuor's *bɔyar*. There were whispered consultations. An impetuous member of Lɛbhtiis yidɛm protested that the intruders should be shut out, but he was overruled by an elder who counselled moderation in view of the chief's wishes.

Next day these incidents were threshed out by the chief when all the elders met to congratulate him on the success of the sacrifices. He rated Lɛbhtiis yidɛm scathingly for their reactionary conduct. 'Times have changed', he said in the course of a long harangue, 'and you must disregard those old tales. Anyhow, you are only my deputies. It is I who really own Mosuor's *bɔyar*, and it is I who will suffer the penalties if Mosuor is offended by what I am doing. And what if some people are of slave descent? They won't steal the *bɔyar* from you. If a man has a slave he calls him to come and join in sacrifices to his ancestors; his slave is like his son. Mosuor established (*naam*, lit. created) all of us, he owns

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Every functionally differentiated aspect of the social life carries specific norms of conduct. It implies specific social obligations, jural rights, and, very often, economic relationships. It usually has a morphological correlate, as offices are vested in particular lineages, localities are associated with lineages, and social roles are transmitted by descent or determined by kinship. Hence every functionally differentiated aspect of social life tends to be subject to specific ritual sanctions within the general frame of the ancestor cult and to be identified by particular ritual symbols. In terms of the individual's place in the social system, this means that Tale religious ideology recognizes the fact that a man's social personality is compounded of many roles corresponding to the different functional aspects of social life in which he takes part. But this multiplicity of social roles does not obliterate the individual. Though he is a microcosm of his society he is always, also, uniquely himself. At times this is the prime determinant of his behaviour, at others a particular social role or membership of a corporate group is decisive. Totemic and other ritual symbols are the ideological landmarks that keep the individual on his course.

We see this very well in the case of a chief or other politico-ritual functionary. The man himself with his personal qualities, his career, his good or ill fortune is one thing. He also belongs to his lineage, and is subject to the code of lineage rights and duties. His title to his office rests on this. Then he is also a chief, with the special ritual and secular privileges and responsibilities of his office. Each facet of his social personality corresponds to a different functional aspect of social life—the aspect of private relationships, of lineage membership, of politico-ritual office representing common or corporate interests. Each aspect has its ritual imprimatur, made explicit largely in the form of symbolic actions or taboos, especially animal taboos. Chiefs, for instance, may not eat the bush-pig (*dee*) and the dog (*baa*); the natives say that is because they are scavengers and therefore unclean in both the physical and the mystical sense.

The use of ritual symbolism in this context is not fortuitous. It reflects the supremacy of the ancestors as the sanction of the social order. Men cannot visualize their ancestors, but they experience their intervention in human affairs; and this gives a clue to the importance of animal symbolism in Tale religion.

As a member of a corporate group, a man comes under the spiritual jurisdiction of the common ancestors of the group, focused in the lineage *boyar*. This relationship is symbolized, *inter alia*, by his totemic taboos. As a unique individual his immediate ancestors have most relevance for him. The pattern of his life is broadly the same as that of his contemporaries. But particular events such as an illness, or the birth of a child, have a personal significance in his own biography. The Tallensi sum this up in the notion of Personal Destiny (*Yin*). Certain ancestors of his become a man's *Yin*. They are revealed to him gradually in the course of years. The process begins with some stroke of good or, more usually, ill fortune that singles him out. He builds a shrine to his *Yin* ancestors in which are incorporated material symbols of the occasions on which they were revealed to him. And animals play a big part in these

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A small number of Tongo people have gone yet farther afield in search of a livelihood: to Biuŋ and other peripheral settlements, to Mampurugu, and, increasingly in recent years, to the tempting Eldorado of Ashanti and the Colony. Thus, not all the members of the Tongo branch of Mosuor biis and its accessory lineages live at Tongo at any given time; but within its confines live only members of the sub-clan and their families; and for all members of the sub-clan, wherever they may be living, Tongo is their home, the centre of gravity of their social existence.

We have said before that no two Tale settlements are exactly alike. Allowing for specific differences, however, the local and social circumscription of Tongo may be taken as typical. The general rule is that boundaries exist in terms of social cleavages co-ordinated with residential distribution, and not of geographical or topographical features; and this rule applies both to the spatial relations of contiguous settlements and to those of parts of a settlement with one another. Community and locality cannot be dissociated. The maxim, 'A *teŋ* is not a *teŋ* if there are no people in it', always cited to explain the strong sense of ethical obligation felt by the natives to accept a suitable immigrant in any community, if land is available, sums this up. The boundary disputes that have become common between chiefs and headmen in recent years turn on the contradiction between the conception of a defined territorial boundary fostered by British rule, and the type of social boundary inherent in the native social structure.

A revealing case occurred among the Hill Talis. The elaborate interlocking of the Hill Talis clans with one another through clanship ties, ritual collaboration, local cohesion, and political loyalties, and the diffused solidarity to which this gives rise, impel them to common or mutually supporting action in crises. Yet even among them, social boundaries divide clan from clan and maximal lineage from maximal lineage both spatially and structurally, and come into operation in certain situations. But these social boundaries are far less firm than those between Tongo and its neighbours. Groups of contiguous clans cohere to nearly the same extent as a genealogically organic community like Tongo. Tɛnzugu, in particular, and Yinduuri-Zandoya, form two such close-knit sub-communities within the wider community of all the Hill Talis.

Since 1936 a boundary dispute has embittered the relations of the Golibdaana and the Yinduuma'aba, who are recognized by the Administration as headman of Tɛnzugu and headman of Yinduur-Zandoya respectively. It is an insoluble dispute, bound to remain a chronic source of friction as long as these two headmen exercise the territorially defined powers entrusted to them by the Administration.

The dispute concerns a segment of Zandoya living on the slope of the Hills between Yinduuri and Tɛnzugu. It was at length, after many evasions on the Golibdaana's part, brought before the Chief of Tongo for arbitration. But this ended, inevitably, in a deadlock. The Golibdaana, crafty and overweening, as only a man of his extravagant wealth and unyielding temper could be, when he knew himself to be in the wrong, took his stand on a criterion often used by Administrative officers in such disputes. The group in question, he claimed, was living on land that

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the earth (*tɛŋənpiima*)'. As we have previously noted, any article or stray animal, the owner of which is unknown, is a *tɛŋənpiimər*. It must be handed to a tendaana. The rule applies to stray fowls, goats, sheep, and especially to objects of iron; and it is most scrupulously observed. A hoe or an axe, for instance, can safely be left lying about on a farm. Tallensi speak with awe of the sacrilege of appropriating a 'thing found on the Earth'. They say that swift retribution invariably overtakes a sinner, and they quote the example of those who occasionally break the taboo, by accident or purposely. It is particularly heinous to take anything found near an Earth shrine, where the mystical power of the Earth is directly localized. Even children are fearful of picking up bits of rubbish near *tɛŋgbana*. Breaches of Earth taboos serve, in the long run, to increase the respect in which they are held. The native is constantly reminded, by these taboos, that the useful, material earth is only the façade of the universal mystical Earth. They remind him that the security and satisfaction he derives from the utilization of the earth's resources are conditional upon his moral behaviour.

We have examined the relation of the concept of the Earth in its mystical aspect to the great public calamities that threaten the physical basis of the existence of the natives. But this concept has a positive side, too. When men do not offend it, the Earth permits crops to flourish, women to bear children, and men's enterprises to succeed. Locusts, Tallensi say, when they rationalize the powers they attribute to the Earth, come up out of the earth; tornadoes sweep across its surface; but, also, crops grow on the earth; homesteads stand on it; men walk on it; out of it they dig the roots they use to cure their illnesses and make magical defences for themselves; in it they bury their dead. All these services of the material earth have their reflex in the ritual values attached to the mystical Earth.

All Tallensi stand in awe of the Earth. We have learnt that they speak of it as 'a living thing', meaning by this that it intervenes mystically in human affairs in the same way as the ancestor spirits do. When they talk of the Earth they mention its remorseless punishment of sacrilege, and the things it prohibits, not its blessings. Yet it is the symbol to them of the forces that promote the common welfare of all mankind without discrimination. Thus a wandering stranger is a 'thing found on the earth'; but he is given to a chief and not to a tendaana. Chiefs are ritually qualified to sell a human being into slavery; a tendaana would commit a sacrilege against the Earth if he did so. As the priest of the Earth it is his duty to protect human beings, keep the peace among them, and be watchful against the dangers that threaten them. The dog lives in such close association with man that it has quasi-human qualities, and therefore stray dogs must also be surrendered to chiefs. And this holds for stray cattle, too, which are also closely identified with man owing to their great economic value and their special importance as sacrificial animals.

Everywhere, too, the Earth forbids the shedding of blood in strife, and, in the neighbourhood of important Earth shrines, the raising of the alarm signal (a long-drawn-out, high-pitched cry *ya-a-a-a-hi*) as a call to arms, and therefore to bloodshed. Men who transgress have to pay heavy

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clan must not kill one another or abduct one another's wives, so they must not trespass on one another's land. For this would wreck the mutual loyalties of segment to segment and make impossible the maintenance of the reciprocity of rights and duties on which their corporate life depends. There is, in other words, a generally accepted body of jural and moral norms, binding on all members of the clan and cementing its solidarity, and supported by the powerful sanctions of the ancestor cult and the Earth cult. The security of land tenure is guaranteed by this.

Tallensi say that it is unthinkable for any man to take another's farm-land. It is his ancestral land. You would not borrow a patch for a ground-nut plot without his permission: how could you think of seizing any of it for yourself? The idea is either fantastic or simply ludicrous to them. And in fact, disputes over farm boundaries or trespassing on another's land are almost unknown. The most remarkable proof of this occurred in 1936, when the Hill Talis returned to their ancestral homes after twenty-five years of exile. Several hundred men took possession again of their ancestors' farm plots without a single boundary dispute. If there was doubt about a particular plot the elders were consulted and settled the matter, not by the exercise of authority but by reason of their knowledge of where every member of the clan had farmed in the old days. Boys of thirteen or fourteen know in detail the ownership and boundaries of every farm plot in the settlement, or at any rate in their section, if it is a large settlement.

It should be noted that there is no communal production for communal use of foodstuffs or any other commodities among the Tallensi, and there is, accordingly, no concept of the communal ownership of the farm-lands of the community. A nuclear lineage has indefeasible rights of ownership over its land. No one has an over-right over it, either real or fictitious. This rule applies between clans as well as within the clan. Trespassing on the farm-lands of members of clans other than one's own is unheard of. For, as we have learnt, adjacent clans are interconnected by structural ties. Every clan is a member of a wider community of interdependent clans, emerging at the level of politico-ritual relations and including, at its widest extent, all the Tallensi. This is the *tey* at its widest extent, symbolically recognized in the Great Festivals and in the chain of interdependent politico-ritual offices held by the heads of all the different maximal lineages and clans. It is the counterpart, in the social structure, of the notion of the Earth in its mystical aspect as a universal power acting on the lives of all men.

Security of land ownership, which means security for every man of the opportunity to supply the basic needs of himself and his dependants, is, therefore, conditional upon the integration of the community; in the first place, of the clan, but also of the wider community of interdependent groups of clans. Its ultimate basis is the politico-ritual organization of the Tallensi.

The Integration of the Community: Chiefship and Tendaanaship

The politico-ritual integration of a Tale clan is focused in the politico-ritual office or offices vested in it or in its component maximal lineages.

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622 793 [184] These offices are either chiefship (*na'am*) (or its equivalent, the senior office connected with an External *Bɔŋar*) or tɛndaanaship.[1] Chiefship is primarily associated with the Namoos, though not exclusively so, tɛndaanaship with the clans and maximal lineages claiming to be the autochthonous inhabitants of the country, though, again, not exclusively so. Both chiefship and tɛndaanaship are, to the natives, unitary institutions made up of offices distributed among a number of clans and lineages. The range of these institutions is not even limited to Taleland. All chiefs are 'brothers' since they derive their office from a common source, the Paramount Chief of Mampurugu; all tɛndaanas, similarly, are 'brothers' since their office has the same function and ritual value everywhere in relation to the Earth. The chain of ritual collaboration is one expression of this notion.

622 793 554 Among the Tale chiefs (*na'ab*, pl. *nadɛm*) the Chief of Tongo (*Tɔŋraana*) ranks highest. He has no political, administrative, or judicial authority over any other chiefs, or any other clan than his own, but his office incarnates the quintessence of *na'am*. He represents all the chiefs of the country in the ritual attributes of chiefship. Tɛndaanas, in keeping with the elaborate segmentation of the clans in which this office is vested, are more equal in status. But in every cluster of closely interdependent contiguous clans there is one tɛndaana who ranks higher than his confreres. The Gbizug tɛndaana ranks above the tɛndaanas of Zubiuŋ, Gbeog, and Wakii, and the Doo tɛndaana above the other Tɛnzugu tɛndaanas.

622 793 As we have seen, the Earth cult and the External *Bɔŋar* cult function as polar opposites in the structural dynamics of the Hill Talis' clan system.[2] In terms of politico-ritual office it is chiefship and tɛndaanaship that have this polar relationship. Within a particular clan and between interdependent contiguous clans the complementary politico-ritual roles of chief (or his equivalent) and tɛndaana form the axis about which the body of moral, jural, and ritual values that binds the community into a unity revolves. Such a community may be a clan (as, for example, Dkoog) or a cluster of interdependent clans (as, for instance, Tongo and its immediate neighbours); and at the times of the Great Festival, the community that emerges includes all the Tallensi and some non-Tallensi.

Chiefs and tɛndaanas had no political power, as we understand it, before the coming of the white man. They had no administrative, or executive, and only rudimentary judicial powers. They were the leaders and not the rulers, the fathers and not the princes of their clans. Where the social ends served by the native political system are concerned, this pat-

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[1] We are concerned here with the role of these politico-ritual offices in the native social system as it was before the establishment of British rule and as it still functions vigorously in situations that fall outside the orbit of the British Administration's sanctions and demands. It is convenient, however, to follow the usage of the Administration in calling the functionary who holds the office of *na'am* a chief rather than overload our analysis with an excess of native titles. But there is no comparison between Tale 'chiefs' and the rulers of great African nations like the Ashanti or Bemba, or even the chiefs of southern Bantu tribes. Cf. *African Political Systems* previously cited. My article in that book deals more fully with the subject of this section.

[2] Cf. Chap. VII.

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tern still prevails. Their function is 'to prosper the community (*maal tɛŋ*)'. Overtly and most conspicuously this is a ritual function. By their conscientious observance of the ritual rules of conduct that symbolize their respective offices, their responsibilities for the community to the mystical powers, and their mutual relationships, as well as by taking the lead in ritual acts calculated to preserve or restore the goodwill of these mystical powers, they maintain the well-being of the community. Actually, these ritual attributes symbolize the fact that chief or tɛndaana is the hub of clan unity and solidarity, the representative of the common interests and of the common values that enable men to visualize and to hold fast to this common interest.

The polar conjunction of chiefship and tɛndaanaship is expressed in the obligatory ritual collaboration, with complementary roles, of chiefs and tɛndaanas. It mirrors the fusion of the two principles that shape the total social field which ultimately determines the prosperity of the individual. One is the principle that the fate of the individual and of the community is determined by the practical and utilitarian concerns and needs that bind man to the earth and put him at the mercy of natural phenomena. The other is the principle that the attainment of prosperity and security, both for the individual and the community, depends upon the integration of the community. The two principles fuse in the notion that the prosperity of the land (*tɛŋ*)—that is, of the community dwelling on its territory—depends on the united strength of the chiefship and the tɛndaanaship, in the last resort. When drought or an epidemic threatens, chiefs and tɛndaanas meet together to decide on ritual measures to be undertaken to avert it. When war temporarily cuts through the tissue of structural ties that holds the clans of Taleland together, the social equilibrium is finally restored by the ritual collaboration, according to ancient custom, of chief and tɛndaana. The death of a chief or tɛndaana leaves 'the land empty (*tɛŋvoog*)', as if its sentinel has departed, until his successor is installed. The death of a chief, Tallensi say, portends want—at best a scarcity of food in his own clan, at the worst a famine throughout the whole country. 'The land dies (*tɛŋ la kpiirɔme*)', the people starve, and social life breaks up. This always happens when a Chief of Tongo dies. It is the one disaster, Tallensi declare, which even the white man's rule cannot avert. The death of an important tɛndaana is also ominous, but not likely to be so disastrous, since there is usually at least one other tɛndaana in the same clan and there are a great many tɛndaanas in the country.

The principles underlying the structure of a society are never embodied in a perfectly unambiguous way in its social institutions. Social life, even in the most stable and unprogressive of societies, demands continual reshufflings, readjustments, and revaluations of social relationships. Though the distant past has no record among the Tallensi, their society exists in time like every human society. Events leave a deposit in its structure, though they themselves vanish into the limbo of oblivion. Thus, in some clans the two principles we have been examining are very clearly brought out in the precise separation by office, ritual observances, and genealogical limitation of the functions of chiefship and tɛndaanaship.

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Elsewhere their differentiation and relationship are obscured by the fusion of the two roles in a single office or by the subdivision and distribution of the two roles among a group of offices.

Broadly speaking, however, chiefship symbolizes the plexus of social relationships, based on lineage and kinship, which unites a defined group of people into a community; and tendaanaship symbolizes the bonds of men, as members of a community, with land, locality, and the material earth. Chiefship and tendaanaship are ritual offices because the principles of social structure they stand for are so fundamental that they appear to the natives as axiomatic. Projected on to the ritual plane, they are transformed into unchallengeable values and so become beacons that guide men's behaviour. Both chiefship and tendaanaship are vested in maximal lineages and therefore have the ritual sanction of the ancestor cult; both are associated with the organization of the Tallensi into local communities and the utilization of natural resources, and therefore have the sanction of the Earth cult. But in their complementary conjunction the emphasis in the chiefship is on its transmission from the ancestors, while the emphasis in the tendaanaship is on its specific ritual bonds with the mystical Earth.

This is brought out by one curious point of difference between the burial customs of Namoos and those of most non-Namoo clans. Namoos bury their dead at the entrance to the homestead, so that the ancestral graves of every segment of a lineage are separate. Men know the graves of their particular forebears and the graves of remoter ancestors who are significant for the structure of the lineage. The tombs of chiefs, in particular, are known and cared for by their agnatic descendants. Namoos also sacrifice to a particular ancestor on his grave. Clans which have tendaanas usually bury their dead in cemeteries within the settlement. They do not sacrifice to their ancestors on their graves and within two generations forget which is the grave of a particular individual. In other respects their ancestor cult is exactly the same as that of the Namoos. In clans that have the chiefship (*naditib*), the natives explain, the most important thing is for every man to be able to show exactly how he is connected by descent with previous holders of the chiefship; whereas in *tendaanditib* clans this is unimportant as all the members of the clan have the same ritual bonds with the Earth.

The Tendaana's Try

Everywhere in Taleland men utilize the earth's resources in the same way and owe respect to the mystical powers of the Earth. But the natural resources of the Earth are of direct importance for them at particular places—where they farm, build their homesteads, hunt, fish, or collect bush products. It is at these places that the mystical power of the Earth impinges directly on their lives. Men's utilitarian interests in the earth's surface are sectional, not global; and so also are their social interests in it since they are divided into maximal lineages and clans which are precisely localized. Thus the earth's surface is divided into sections relatively to the social organization of the Tallensi. Each section has its own Earth shrines for the worship of the Earth at that place, and they are in the

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gradually with the passage of generations in adjustment to changing social boundaries.

It is significant how frequently in settlements like Tongo tɛndaanas' boundaries are adjusted to cognatic ties between a particular tɛndaana's clan and a segment of the immigrant clan. In Tongo all Dekpiɛŋ, barring two or three homesteads, is on Zubiuŋ land; there is not one segment of Dekpiɛŋ that has no cognatic or affinal ties with Zubiuŋ. The few men who live on Gbizug land are all matrilateral kin of Gbizug. All Kuorəg is on Soog land; and the Kuorəg tradition is that one of their ancestors was a Soog *ahəŋ* (sister's son) who was granted land to settle on by his *ahəb* (maternal uncle), the Soog tɛndaana. Similarly, Lɛbhtiis yidɛm of Puhug call themselves the classificatory sister's sons of Gbizug, and most of them live on Gbizug land. This is a further indication that the ill-defined boundaries of tɛndaanas' *tɛs* are shaped by social relationships.

Not all Namoos live on land under the ritual jurisdiction of other clans. The Chief of Biuŋ, though a Namoo, is also the tɛndaana of Biuŋ. The people of Dkoog live on land under their own tɛndaana, a member of their own clan. They have both a chief and a tɛndaana.[1] In these cases the natives maintain that the original settlers of their clan found no one living there. Being Namoos they brought the chiefship with them, or, as at Biuŋ, held the chiefly rights over the bush out of which Biuŋ has been carved. But the Earth cannot go unworshipped where men dwell; so they undertook the tɛndaanaship themselves.

A tɛndaana's *tɛŋ* is the area in which he exercises priestly duties and responsibilities and the rights and privileges that correspond to them. It is primarily on behalf of the people dwelling or farming there that he constantly consults diviners to find out what sacrifices he must offer in order that the Earth may bless the strivings of men. Lost and unclaimed property or objects found anywhere on his *tɛŋ* must be delivered to him, to be used by him or sacrificed to the Earth. If anybody wishes to build a house on a virgin site, even on farm-land belonging to his own lineage, the blessing of the Earth is essential if the house is to prosper. Therefore the tɛndaana of that *tɛŋ* must come and 'clear the house-site (*kuo yir*)' ritually for the family, receiving, in return, only certain prescribed portions of the meat of the animals sacrificed. If a new grave has to be dug, the tɛndaana, or someone deputizing for him, has to mark it out ritually (*kyieb*) and supervise the digging. This is not only because the dead are laid to rest inside the earth, but also because interring the dead is an act of crucial social and personal importance, charged with ritual meanings of great intensity. It is one of the points at which man's life and the mystical powers of the Earth come into contact in a way that is fraught with the deepest affective and social meaning for the individual and wide consequences for the organization of the society. Thereafter,

[1] But, characteristically, the tɛndaanaship is vested in one segment only of the clan, and that segment is prohibited from holding the chiefship. Moreover, their right to the tɛndaanaship and their exclusion from the chiefship are both validated by their lineage status. They form an attached lineage claiming matrilateral descent from a lineage of Wakii that has the tɛndaanaship. The chiefship is confined to the authentic lineages of Dkoog. Thus the polar relation of chiefship and tɛndaanaship asserts itself within the clan.

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his ritual powers and duties give a tɛndaana very great prestige and considerable moral authority over people living on his *tɛŋ* whether or not they belong to his clan. At Tongo, for instance, the Gbizug tɛndaana is spoken of and treated with a respect little short of reverence, both in the formal interclan politico-ritual relations and in commonplace relations of everyday life. 'He owns the land (*ɔn nso tɛŋ la*)', Tongo people say gravely, 'we are strangers here. We only grow our millet here to feed ourselves. If we offend the tɛndaana he can drive us away from here.' The last part of this statement is not literally true. A tɛndaana cannot drive people off their ancestral dwelling and farm-land; to say the least it would be ethically evil. It is not legal but ritual action that the statement implies. I have seen a tɛndaana's curse throw a person into a state of anxiety that persisted for days, until a reconciliation was effected. But this was anxiety concerning the mystical consequences of the tɛndaana's curse, without any assumption as to its jural implications. The term 'owner' applied to a chief or tɛndaana, as we have stated earlier, is simply a means of subsuming in one concept the configuration of rights and duties, privileges and obligations which defines the relations of a community with its politico-ritual heads in reference to its local framework and to the common values symbolized in ritual doctrine and practice. The material earth and the mystical Earth meet in the functions of tɛndaanas.

Many Tallensi are able to formulate the distinction between the earth in its physical, utilitarian aspect and the Earth in its ritual manifestations. But in general the distinction is inherent in the economic and politico-ritual institutions of the natives rather than expressed in explicit doctrine or language. Whenever or wherever the concept *tɛŋ* comes up it tends to be ambiguous. It suggests both aspects of the earth, though the major emphasis may be on one or the other. It is as if neither aspect of the earth can appear without the other following like its shadow.

This holds particularly with the *tɛndaanditiɔ* clans. Their ritual bonds with their *tɛɛ* form a halo around their utilitarian relations with the earth. In most of these clans, therefore, it is a taboo of the Earth to sell parcels of land. To sell farm-land (*kuo*) is like selling pieces of the mystical *tɛŋ* to which they are bound by the strongest ties of interest, emotion, and values. Namoo clans which do not have tɛndaanas do not feel this strong and direct tie with their *tɛŋ* in its mystical aspect. The utilitarian, material aspect of the earth falls apart from its mystical counterpart more easily for them. Hence it is mostly in such communities that farm-land is sold. But even Namoos say that the earth as such, the *tɛŋ*, cannot be sold. In practice the sale of farm-land is a sale of usufructuary rights and is confined to clansmen or kinsmen as we know. It is, always, a transaction between men who are bound to one another by the fundamental common and mutual interests of Tale collective life. Men cannot buy land in a Tale settlement in which they have no kin. In this, as in other aspects of their relationship towards locality, the Namoos put the major emphasis on the coherence of the community as this is focused in the chiefship. And fundamentally the coherence of the community is as indivisible as the continuity of territory. The Chief of Tongo, for example, exercises an ever-present influence on the prosperity and welfare of the members

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of his own sub-clan. This is the central field of integrated social relations pivoting on this chiefship. But his ritual status also affects the prosperity and welfare of Zubiuŋ and Zoo directly and that of the Hill Talis indirectly. In fact, in the last resort, it affects all the clans of Taleland that have a place in the cycle of the Great Festivals. 'The community (*teŋ*) cannot be subdivided (*bɔk*)', the Chief of Tongo once told me in explanation of the ritual significance of his office. Famine, pestilence, war cannot be dammed and confined to one place. And so if the Chief of Tongo dies the whole country suffers, though his own clan will perhaps suffer most and the remoter zones of his politico-ritual influence least.

The bonds between man and land, community and locality that are so fundamental in the structure of Tale society cannot be understood apart from this context of ritual values and moral norms. Difficult as they are to grasp and pin down in exact language, they are as ever present to the native's mind as his sentiment of attachment to his native soil. They cause men who have been away from home for many years to give up splendid farms in Mampurugu or good jobs in Kumasi to return to take up their patrimonial land.

613 sex, station in life, character, and reputation of the deceased all influence the reactions of people to a death and the range of participation in the funeral ceremonies. Every death is the corporate concern of the deceased's medial lineage—his *dug* of the *yizug*. It is less stringently the corporate concern of the whole *yizug*. Funerals of old and important men evoke the participation of the whole clan or sub-clan, but it is clan solidarity and corporate obligation on the level of the section that draw *sunzɔ* sections to the ceremonies. Only the death of a chief, a tendaana, or other politico-ritual functionary, is the obligatory concern of every segment of the clan or maximal lineage. Funerals of women and young people or children impose no obligations on *sunzɔ* sections of the

Diagram showing internal segmentation of Tongo.

——— Thick lines mark off sections (*Yizugat*)

- - - - Broken lines mark off major segments of sections, that is medial lineages (*dugat*)

deceased's (or her husband's) section. Whether or not their representatives come to condole with the bereaved household or to take part in the burial and funeral ceremonies rests entirely with the individual members of these sections and depends on individual ties of neighbourhood, kinship, or friendship with the deceased's family and *dug*. A funeral, even that of a politico-ritual officer, is primarily the direct concern of every member of the deceased's segment of the clan or maximal lineage. It concerns *sunzɔ* segments only at the level of corporate relations, because every event that affects the existence and constitution of one part of the clan or maximal lineage impinges on its common interests.

622 We may contrast with this a corporate activity in a wider sense, such 621 as the sacrifice to Mosuor at Tongo, to which we have several times 613 referred, the Harvest Festival, or the communal hoeing of the chief's [24] bush farm, which has become an established custom under British rule. The pivot of these activities is always the chief, who stands for the whole sub-clan and its common interests and values, and whose office transcends the cleavages inherent in its lineage segmentation. In these activities the

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four major segments of the clan have an equal role. All have the same obligations and the same rights, vested in them as corporate units defined in relation to the whole clan; and all the segments must participate in equal degree. A similar corporate activity in a clan like Zubiuŋ is a sacrifice to the External *Bɔyar*, Duunkpalɔg.

The four sections of Tongo are equal and co-ordinate in political and jural matters. In religious matters of common interest Puhug is senior (*kpeem*) to the other sections. This is because Mosuor's grave and *bɔyar* and Sɛyahɔg's grave and *bɔyar* are the exclusive charge of Puhug, whose section head (*yiɛug kpeem*) always has custody of these shrines and officiates in sacrifices to them.

The Local Embodiment of the Ritual Focus of the Sub-clan

Puhug was the original home (*daboog*) of Mosuor. There he dwelt beside Tendaan Gɛnɔt, the site of whose *daboog* is now the sacred dancing-ground of the *Giŋgaaŋ* Festival, hence called Giŋgaaŋ Puhug. This is the hub of Tongo as an enduring and stable local unit. Whatever vicissitudes the clan may suffer, whether it expands or contracts, however widely its members may be dispersed, Giŋgaaŋ Puhug remains for ever fixed and inviolable, the heart of the clan and the visible and consecrated sign of its existence and persistence. At the edge of Giŋgaaŋ Puhug is the grave of Tendaan Gɛnɔt, and nearby are the graves of the first ancestors of Mosuor biis—Mosuor, Sɛyahɔg, and Bɔyada—marking the sites where their homesteads stood. Thus the ritual and ideological focus of Tongo's corporate unity as a descent group (and the same rule applies to all Tale clans) is directly bound up with its physical counterpart, the local focus of Tongo's unity and identity. In clans that have tendaanas, it is usually the principal Earth shrine (*tɔŋgban*) that is the consecrated local focus of the clan.

Mosuor's grave, marked by an irregular flat heap of large stones, lies under an enormous old baobab tree which the people of Tongo say *is* Mosuor (see map of Tongo). On the side of the trunk facing the grave are signs of the sacrifices offered there—dirty streaks of dried blood and flour-water, and patches of fowl and guinea-fowl feathers stuck to the trunk with blood. It is a prominent landmark in Puhug, and a favourite shade tree for the people of the nearby homesteads. There the old men come and rest on hot afternoons, infants are put out to sit, well protected from the sun, while their mothers get on with the household work, and older children come to play or to swing in the branches. It is characteristic of the Tallensi that the people of Tongo treat their most sacred shrines in this realistic and matter-of-fact way in the context of everyday life. The tree is sacred, it is a *Bayar*, but it is also just a tree, whose ritual significance is not relevant except on a ritual occasion. Then it is treated with appropriate reverence. And this is true, also, of ancestral graves, which are often treated very casually and sometimes allowed to fall into such neglect that none but the elders of the lineage descended from him know exactly where a particular ancestor's grave is. Mosuor's grave, however, being of such outstanding ritual importance for the whole of Tongo, is more carefully kept and is always treated with respect.

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(b) Loyani, a highly respected junior elder of Zubiuŋ.

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(a) Yikpemdaana of Tongo, the *kpeem* of Toŋ-Kuorəg.

[facing p. 240]

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682 Similarly there is the prohibition against homicide within the clan. It is a moral prohibition, a taboo (*kihər*), the overt sanction being that the slayer's segment and the victim's segment cannot again sacrifice together. This is shown equally by the fact that vengeance is prohibited, in accordance with the maxim 'It is (as if) a cow had trampled its calf to death (*naah n-nɔ bu bii ku*)', and will be prevented by the elders if necessary by forcibly restraining the victim's segment brothers. Hence comes the prohibition, also, against raiding (*ŋɔk*) within the clan or between linked clans.

578 613 To sum up, there is an undercurrent of tension in every clan and lineage arising directly out of its segmentary structure. From time to time this breaks out in conflict. But in the long run lineage solidarity prevails. The pattern is the same as in the total socio-geographic region of Tale society.

Modern Factors of Disequilibrium

A. *British Rule*

578 182 The suppression of warfare is a symptom of the changed political circumstances of the Tallensi. New forces are beginning to affect their social structure, creating new internal tensions that threaten the supremacy of the ancient sanctions of cohesion. Though the traditional politico-ritual institutions are still the most powerful determinants of corporate relations within and between clans and maximal lineages, the tendency of the new forces is to work against the traditional social equilibrium. As we have seen, the natives themselves stress this.

177 175 578 622 The most pervasive and most powerful of these new factors is British rule. Its greatest achievement has been the enforcement of peace and the substitution of an embryonic judicial organization for the arbitrament of the bow and arrow. Up till 1933, when the reorganization of the system of local government in the Northern Territories was inaugurated, the Administration aimed at creating a centralized, pyramidal organization of executive authority among the clan heads of the Tallensi, under the leadership of the Chief of Tongo. To further this aim the Administration gave its support to certain headmen and chiefs in their dealings with their own clans and with one another. These men were vested with powers which they had never previously held and which had no relation to the native social structure. Coercion and extortion were practised, under cover of meeting the requirements of the white man. Where these requirements were concerned, the system worked, though far from satisfactorily. But constant friction between the chiefs and headmen constituting this artificial hierarchy was inevitable owing to the contradiction between it and the segmentary pattern of the native social structure. For, as we have seen, the native social structure, like the traditional economy and the age-old ritual ideas and values of the people, has preserved its vitality in relation to the social interests and ends which it has always served and still subserves.

177 578 622 Whenever these interests and ends are paramount, as at the times of the Great Festivals, the factional rivalries stirred up by the new dis-

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pensation sink into the background, the sanctions inherent in the native social structure prevail, and the traditional ties of politico-ritual collaboration come into force. But when the new interests brought into being by the influence of the British Administration come to the fore, the traditional social ties and the sanctions associated with them no longer prevail. For among the Tallensi, as among ourselves, such ties and sanctions do not function at all times and in all circumstances. They work in the context of the scheme of social relationships of which they form a part and not in other contexts. These new interests mobilize the existing corporate units of Tale society. Thus they tend to deepen some of the cleavages that exist, and to weaken the countervailing ties, between lineages and clans. It is noteworthy that rivalry for the rewards of political power under the British Administration is most acute between clans that have close ties in the native social system. As was the case with war in former days, clans and maximal lineages that are widely separated from one another, either locally or in terms of their fields of social relations, cannot come into conflict or competition with one another. Thus political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and his 'younger brother' the Chief of Yamələg is severe and has led to estrangement between these two branches of Mosuor biis. But there is no political rivalry between the Chief of Tongo and the Chief of Datɔk. Competition for politico-ritual office within clans is fiercer than it was in the past and less scrupulous, though it still follows the lines of cleavage in the lineage structure.

At the same time some chiefs have used their new powers to weld their clans into closer unity on the political plane than existed in the old days. This has happened at Tongo and at Sie. But it has not been to the benefit of the social balance in the greater society. By strengthening the autocratic ambitions of these chiefs, the closer unity of their clans has tended to aggravate the antagonisms between clans.

B. *Pecuniary Competition among the Hill Talis*

A new factor of disequilibrium that has had a very disturbing influence among the Hill Talis is pecuniary competition which has become associated with certain traditional institutions. Many families nowadays obtain driblets of money through members of the family working abroad, or by petty trade. But the pecuniary competition we are referring to concerns money on a scale unprecedented in Tale history; and its disruptive influence is due to its association with a traffic in ritual benefits comparable to that of the notorious Southern Nigerian oracles.

The centre of this traffic is the Tong Hills, and its disruptive influence has been greatest among the Hill Talis, where it has brought violent competition into the sphere of the common ritual interests and values which form the bulwark of their cohesion. The integration of the Hill Talis in the native social structure depends, as we have seen, on a meticulous balance of local, clanship, and ritual ties and cleavages focused in the politico-ritual offices vested in the heads of maximal lineages. So nicely calculated is the distribution of these politico-ritual functions amongst the various maximal lineages that none can claim

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food, beer, tobacco, kola nuts, and household and farming equipment, must be hoarded. One result has been that the Gɔlibdaana's ambitions have been enormously inflated. He has been striving to turn his wealth into prestige. He would fain be a great chief, and has for years been scheming and intriguing to this end. As is common in African societies to which European contact has opened up new economic opportunities that are wholly or partially divorced from their own social structure and economic system, the Gɔlibdaana's response to the opportunity offered by the pilgrim traffic has been a mixture of cupidity, calculation, and unbridled self-interest.

The point of interest here is the effect of the Gɔlibdaana's monopoly on the interrelations of the Hill Talis clans. All the other clans of the Hills view it with open envy, in particular Kpata'ar, the clan immediately contiguous with the Gɔlibdaana's clan, Bunkiuk. The people of Kpata'ar claim political superiority to Bunkiuk, on the strength of their being (as they assert) *primus inter pares* in the scheme of ritual collaboration among the Hill clans. They therefore demand the lion's share of the pilgrim traffic with the south, though they are now wholly excluded from it. The other clans of the Hills excluded from this traffic make similar but smaller demands. It is, in effect, a demand for a distribution of the profits of this new economic application of the *Bɔyar* cult on the same lines as the distribution of the traditional client villages. In the traditional arrangement the economic exploitation of the cult follows the accepted principles of equality and equilibrium in the social system. Each of the dozen or so *Bɔya* of the Hill Talis had its group of client communities exclusively reserved for it and there were no great variations between the profits of one *Bɔyar* and another.

An immediate result has been that the Gɔlibdaana no longer exercises undisputed headmanship, as the executive agent of the Administration, over all the Tɛnzugu clans. In 1933 he was in control of all the Tɛnzugu clans in all matters falling under the jurisdiction of the Administration. He called out the young men for road building or rest-house repairs; exacted a tribute from all independent householders living on top of the Hills or entitled to live there; and judged all cases brought against Tɛnzugu people or sent on cases from Tɛnzugu to other headmen or chiefs. Since 1936 the Kpata'ar faction has refused to submit to his control in these matters. Meanwhile the Administration has ruled that neither the Gɔlibdaana nor the Kpata'arna'ab shall be recognized as headman of the Tɛnzugu clans until the people have settled among themselves which of them is rightfully entitled to the post. So there are now two headmen.

To-day a silent feud, taking the form of intrigue and conspiracies to undermine one another's reputation with the Administration, rages among the Hill Talis. On one side stands the Gɔlibdaana and his faction, the nucleus of which is the majority of his own maximal lineage; on the other the factions hostile to him, chief of which is the maximal lineage of the Kpata'arna'ab. The struggle has become so acute, on several occasions, that bloodshed was only prevented by the fear of stern intervention by the District Commissioner.

The feud follows the lines of cleavage between clans and maximal

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lineages inherent in the native social structure. The majority of the Gəlibdaana's own maximal lineage share in the profits of his monopoly and are solidly behind him; the maximal lineages of the leaders of the opposition are solidly against him; but many of the maximal lineages that have clanship or ritual links with both sides are split. Many of the young men of these lineages side with the Gəlibdaana—enticed, their elders say bitterly, by his lavish gifts. The older men are uneasily neutral or tacitly opposed to the Gəlibdaana because he has brought dissension to the Hills and has flouted some of the ancient ritual customs. Both parties try to manœuvre the opposition into a position which will set the Administration in motion against them; the leaders of both parties say that the white man's authority is the only force that will help them to victory. And they feel particularly bitter because the vigilance of Administrative officers has frustrated all their efforts to exploit this potent sanction.

At the same time they try to use the sanctions of their own social structure to gain their aims. For outside the struggle for control of the pilgrim traffic, the ties of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration remain valid as before. During the Great Festivals the feud sinks into temporary abeyance. The Gəlibdaana and the Kpata'arna'ab speak with hatred of each other when it is a question of political power or the pilgrim traffic; they continue to perform those rites of the Great Festivals and of the Earth cult in which they are ritually obliged to collaborate, with apparent cordiality. This is a 'separate thing' they declare. It would be an appalling sin bringing catastrophe on the whole country, they say, if they threw over these bonds.

But the new alinements in the pecuniary struggle and the traditional social structure cannot be kept apart in watertight compartments. The Kpata'arna'ab and the Gəlibdaana try to coerce each other through their mutual ritual obligations. They try to put pressure on each other through maximal lineages that are intercalary between their lineages; and to win over the other maximal lineages with which they have clanship or ritual ties.

Experienced elders maintain, with the sceptical candour that is one of the few charms Tallensi have for an ethnographer, that this can never decide the issue. Putting it at its highest, the bonds of clanship, kinship, and ritual collaboration are a double-edged weapon. If Kpata'ar tries to coerce Samiit to side with it by refusing to collaborate with Samiit in the rites of their common External *Boyar*, the ancestors might well blame Kpata'ar and punish them. Tallensi are not—so the old men say—restrained from doing something to their personal advantage by the fear of mystical penalties. 'Who fears death before death comes upon you?' It is only after a death occurs that the survivors see in it signs and omens referring to their social relations with one another.

Whenever a death occurs in any of the Hill clans, especially if it is the death of an important person, the chronic discord between them is openly recollected. It is both a symptom of the general feeling of uneasiness and a move in the game of attempted mutual coercion by mystical sanctions. A funeral almost inevitably causes this feeling to be ventilated. For people of all the Tenzugu and many other clans are present, as kinsfolk, affines,

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578 neighbours, and friends of the deceased. They feel the contradiction
764 between their mutual bonds of amity with one another as kin or friends and their latent hostility, in other situations, as members of opposed corporate units. Thus it often happens that when a diviner is publicly consulted
[787] about the mystical cause of the death, he attributes it to the anger of the ancestors or the Earth over the disharmony on the hills. Even if this is not the diviner's verdict, the faction opposing that to which the dead man belonged will interpret his death in this sense. Thus when the Sakpee tendaana died, the men of Kpata'ar, including some of his own matrilateral kinsmen, were secretly almost jubilant. They were convinced that this death was a punishment, and a warning from the ancestors, for his defection from the Kpata'ar party to the Golibdaana's side; for the Sakpee tendaana is one of the ritual officers of the External *Bɔyar* of which Kpata'ardem are the senior custodians, as we have previously seen.

613 Up to now these mystical warnings have not been heeded. They have,
578 at most, reinforced the tendency for the heads of maximal lineages to
787 aline themselves on the same side as the maximal lineages with which they have ties of clanship and of ritual collaboration. For obviously these ties have greatest efficacy for the individuals who hold the offices through which they are normally expressed. The rank-and-file members of the lineages concerned often persist in the path of greatest self-interest. Nor have these warnings helped to mitigate the struggle between the Golibdaana's maximal lineage and the other lineages which take the lead in opposing him. To-day, as in the days of warfare, a man can keep up cordial personal relations with a kinsman in the opposite camp. He will not, because of his personal kinship ties with the enemy, contract out of his own lineage in issues affecting its corporate unity—least of all when the motive of profit is added to the bonds of lineage solidarity.

622 The disturbing effects of the Golibdaana's pecuniary enterprise have
578 not been limited to Tenzugu. He has come into conflict with Yinduuri by
621 claiming jurisdiction over a section of Zandoya that has always been regarded as coming within the field of social and politico-ritual relations of Yinduuri (see p. 163). He is not on speaking terms with the Bɔyaraana of Sii, who claims to be the senior ritual functionary of the Wannii *Bɔyar* as well as the senior chief of all the Talis, and therefore demands control of the pilgrim traffic with the south. He has gravely offended the Chief of Tongo, his own brother-in-law, by wrongfully assuming the insignia and aping the etiquette of a superior chief, and by bribing the Paramount Chief of the Mamprusi to invest him with the rank of a chief of high status. But for the intervention of the Administration this particular
[77] quarrel would already have led to serious disturbances, for the people of Tongo are extremely jealous of the rank and status of their chiefship and unanimously resent the Golibdaana's presumption. It is notable that they do not in the least envy the Golibdaana his pecuniary monopoly. Frankly despising the fertility and oracle aspects of the *Bɔyar* cult as a piece of fraudulent magic, they look on the money gained through the pilgrim traffic as tainted. In this matter Namoos and Talis have not
[477] got a sphere of common interests within which they might be rivals. The interests of Tongo and Bunkiuk intersect only in relation to the

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Chiefship of Tongo, to which the Gɔlibdaana's office has a politico-ritual relationship.

The point that must be stressed, however, is that the Gɔlibdaana's monopoly has not yet thrown the existing scheme of structural alinements into complete disorder. It is a factor of disequilibrium and may, in the course of a few more years, make serious rents in the complex fabric of the social and politico-ritual relationships of the Hill Talis. Up to the present the native social structure, and in particular the web of ritual collaboration, has resisted the corruption and kept in check, to a very considerable extent, the dissensions due to this new force. This might well go on as long as the Administration keeps the ring impartially, and as long as the Gɔlibdaana and his maximal lineage accept the politico-ritual values on which the integration of the Hill Talis rests, and abide by the principal jural and moral norms of the society. So far the struggle has not given rise to new corporate associations running counter to those of the existing social structure. In fact, it has on the whole been canalized along the lines of cleavage laid down in that structure. It has deepened some of the existing cleavages and sharpened some of the inherent tensions of the system; but it has also accentuated some of the ties and enhanced the dominant values of the system. Thus the only section of Kpata'ar that has vacillated, at times, in its loyalty is Nak-y-eet yidɛm, the assimilated lineage. They have been influenced by their lineage differentiation from Kpata'ar proper, their consequent subsidiary interest in the politico-ritual status of the head of Kpata'ar proper, their clanship ties with the Sakpee section that has gone over to the Gɔlibdaana, and the greed of their lineage head. But their intercalary structural position between the two factions is shown in their divided counsels. Some of the older men are whole-heartedly for Kpata'ar, one or two adhere publicly to the Gɔlibdaana, several try to keep on good terms with both parties. When they have to take a stand as a corporate unit, their bias is towards the Kpata'arna'ab in ritual and intra-clan affairs, and towards the Gɔlibdaana in matters of law and government coming within his purview as a headman under the Administration. On the other hand, the ancient ties between Kpata'ar and Gundaat have been greatly strengthened, the bond of goodwill between Kpata'ar and Tongo, based on their politico-ritual interdependence, given a new meaning, and moves to defend the traditional social order stimulated.

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ingress of wild animals—in particular, the ubiquitous and thievish hyena, which prowls the settlements at night in search of offal and unprotected small stock—and the egress of their own livestock. Every gateway in Taleland must be barred at night, except that of the Chief of Tongo. This is a strict rule, and it is one of the conventions defining the social personality of the Chief of Tongo. It is also a sign of the privacy of the domestic unit in respect of the intimate life of its members.

Entering the *zanɔr* of a homestead, the visitor finds himself in the *sapak* or *nayaŋ*, the cattle-yard. It is the dirtiest and most insanitary spot in the homestead, its undressed surface being strewn with rubbish and with the dung or droppings of livestock, if the owner has any. One often sees human excrement in a corner, for young children and sick people defecate there at night. Ɔndieso is a very poor man, even by Tale standards, as the sagging roofs and dilapidated walls of his homestead lead one to suspect, possessing neither cattle nor sheep nor goats, and but a handful of poultry. Hence his *sapak* is very small, less than a dozen square yards in area. Ɔndieso's neighbour, the Gbizug tɛndaana, has a large *sapak*, about 80 square yards in area; but he has cattle, sheep, goats, and a couple of donkeys, not to speak of many fowls and guinea-fowls.

From the *sapak* one can see how the cylindrical rooms are laid out and distributed in the roughly circular or oval area occupied by the homestead. The first room, usually on the right as one enters through the *zanɔr*, is the *zɔŋ*. It is the only room with a doorway in the *sapak*, and it has a special significance in the structure of the house. It is the room *par excellence* of the head of the house (*yirdaana*), fittingly placed between the open space before the *zanɔr*, with which his public activities are associated, and the *sapak*, which shelters his most valuable possessions, his livestock. Cattle, sheep, and goats constitute material wealth, the repository of labour and thrift; but they mean much more than that to the Talɔŋ. They are pre-eminently the property of men, associated with men's major interests. They are the medium by means of which wives are acquired, and thus posterity assured. They are also the principal objects of sacrifice, by means of which the natives maintain their relations with their ancestor spirits and other mystical powers. In bad weather the *zɔŋ* itself is used to shelter the livestock. Inside the *zɔŋ*, along the wall, little cubicles are made for the *yirdaana*'s fowls to nest in. A man of substance often has a double *zɔŋ*, consisting of two chambers with a low doorway in the partition wall. The rear chamber is used as a stall for young calves or sheep, and the front chamber, communicating with the *sapak*, as a stall for a milch-cow or a donkey, for the night.

The *zɔŋ* is identified with the *yirdaana*'s status and social personality. It is a bare room, for a man does not keep valuable possessions, weapons,

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or implements there. This is due partly to the values associated with it, partly to its use as a stall for livestock, and partly to its being an outside room from which things might easily be stolen. A young man like Ɔndieso has nothing but a couple of unimportant medicine horns stuck into the thatch, a log to sit on, and a few odds and ends in his rather tumbledown *zɔŋ*; for he makes little use of it. Yet the house would be incomplete without a *zɔŋ*; for the *zɔŋ* is the sanctuary of the *yirdaana*'s lineage-ancestor spirits. It is no profanation, in Tale eyes, to fold livestock there. The mundane and the mystical are complementary in Tale thought. Because the ancestor spirits abide there, a diviner holds his consultations in his *zɔŋ*. Among the Talis the lineage-shrine (*bɔɣar*) always rests inside or against the outer wall of the lineage head's *zɔŋ*; the Namoos generally keep such a shrine in an inside room or courtyard. Even if the other rooms of his homestead are thatched, a tendaana's *zɔŋ* must have a flat roof, because the spirits of his predecessors dwell there and the lineage *bɔɣar* and indoor shrines dedicated to the Earth are in it. The investiture of a tendaana culminates in his ritual induction into the *zɔŋ*, which is the final test of his acceptability to the ancestors and the Earth. A chief has a special *zɔŋ* (*zanto'o*), which is not only the sanctuary of the spirits of former chiefs but his council-chamber and the room in which he performs the rites that bless the community during the Great Festivals.

To an elder of great seniority in the lineage hierarchy his *zɔŋ* has a deeper value than to a man of junior status. A person's status is most conspicuously proclaimed at his or her death, when his or her social personality has to be cancelled by rite and ceremony. When a man of subordinate status in the lineage, a man who is not yet the master of his own house, or a young woman, dies, he or she is carried to the grave through a hole broken in the wall of the homestead for this purpose. But the head of a house, or an old woman, is carried out through a hole specially cut in the outside wall of the *zɔŋ*. '*Ti Talis tɛbhɔm nla*—This is the [great] honour of us, the Tallensi', an informant explained to me. The conventional idea of one who deserves it is that of a man or woman who leaves children and grandchildren to perpetuate his or her line and to celebrate his or her decease. When his homestead is being rebuilt, an old man often tells his sons, half-jocularly but with more than a hint of earnestness: 'Hurry up with the roofing of the *zɔŋ*. I might die, and I don't wish to be carried out through the gateway because the *zɔŋ* is unfinished.' 'May Heaven permit me to attain to lying in the *zɔŋ*, when I die, and forfend the breaking of the wall for me to be carried out' a young man once exclaimed fervently when he was talking about the funeral of a worthy elder. The last rites by which a dead person is finally aggregated to the ancestor spirits take place in the *zɔŋ*.

The *zɔŋ*, the *sapak*, and the *zanɔr* stand for the ideological and jural dominance of the male line of descent. Together, and in particular

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nephews but more distant cognatic and even affinal kin frequently live with a kinsman until they can set up in their own homesteads.

Sometimes, too, an unmarried sister's child (*tau-bii*) may grow up and live in its uncle's family. It may be an illegitimate child (*yi yeem bii*—a maiden's child), or one whose mother's bride-price was not paid, and who therefore belongs to her father unless or until it is redeemed (*pɔhəg*) by the payment of a cow by its genitor or his heir. A sister's child is to all intents and purposes a child of the family. But not being of the true agnatic line, it is subject to certain jural disabilities which have no consequence for a girl but handicap a boy, as we have previously seen.

The domestic families of chiefs and headmen are unusual only in respect of size. Their newly won riches enable chiefs and headmen to acquire numerous wives and to maintain households that appear enormous in the eyes of the ordinary man. A petty headman may have ten or more wives. The late Chief of Tongo, a chief of modest means compared with some of his peers in Taleland, had more than thirty. The Golibdaana of Tenzugu has at least eighty. The Chief of Datoko is reputed to have a hundred, but he denies this and claims to have only a modest fifty. Except that their domestic economy and organization is more complex and that there is at times more friction between the womenfolk, these hypertrophied joint families have the same pattern of organization as those of ordinary folk.

It is noteworthy that this pattern has not been disturbed by the social changes which have, in recent years, followed the subjection of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast to European political, economic, and cultural influences. Family disorganization has barely begun to appear in Taleland. There is hardly a domestic family in the country—not one in our sample—which has wholly escaped the effects of these contact influences. One or more of their members is or has been abroad in Mampurugu, Ashanti, or the Colony, for longer or shorter periods of time, farming, working for wages, or trading. But the number of men abroad, at any given time, for very long periods is relatively small[1] compared with other parts of West and Southern Africa, and their absence has little effect on the structure of the residual family. Their labour is lost to the family, but as they are no longer a drain on its resources this does not upset its internal economy. Similarly, as they are mostly young men[2] with little or no responsibility for the management of family

[1] Estimates based on my own census material and on Nominal Rolls drawn up by Administrative Officers for tax collection show that an average of just under 7 per cent. of the adult male population of Taleland were away from home and not likely to return in the immediate future, in the years 1936 to 1939. This estimate may be compared with the 60–80 per cent. of able-bodied adult males absent from tribal reserves in Northern Rhodesia and Nyassaland quoted by Lord Hailey, *African Survey*, p. 701.

[2] Reliable information on the ages of these absentees cannot be obtained. But from personal contact with many of them, both on their return home and

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as a form of investment, if such it can be called. Indeed, over most of Taleland the buying and selling of farm-land is ritually prohibited.[1] Occasionally disputes arise between the heirs when farm-lands pass by inheritance. But these rare quarrels are considered to be despicable and are ascribed to idiosyncrasies of character. In any case they are quarrels over the apportionment of joint property and there is always the chance that the man who has come off worst will later inherit the very land he was deprived of.

It is the exact contrary with wives. They form the chief object of competition both between individuals and between corporate groups. This is explicitly admitted in the conventions ruling the abduction of wives and marriage with another man's ex-wife.[2] The prohibition against abducting the wife (or marrying an ex-wife) of a clansman, kinsman, or member of a locally contiguous clan admits the fact that such acts are the most prolific source of strife, leading, in the old days, to bloodshed at times. The corollary that it is permissible, nay, commendable, to abduct the wife of a member of a distant, unrelated clan is an expression of the idea that geographically distant and genealogically unconnected clans have no direct common interests.

Competition for wives always was and still is the chief source of conflict between individuals and groups in Taleland. More than 90 per cent. of all cases brought to chiefs' courts nowadays are concerned with wives, and they are always triangular affairs with two men competing for the woman or her offspring. The reason for this competitive attitude about wives in a society almost devoid of durable goods of great productive or prestige value and possessing few prestige-conferring offices is not difficult to see, as has been previously indicated. Wives are the sole means of attaining the supreme end of life for the natives, the perpetuation and increase of a man's lineage. Like land, which is a common interest to the whole nuclear and often inner lineage, wives are of common interest to all the members of their husbands' lineages (not only their inner lineages, but even their maximal lineages and clans), for all of whom the perpetuation of their line of descent is of transcendent importance. This idea, which is expressed in the principle of the levirate, lies behind many of the institutions we shall be considering in this chapter.

Tallensi maintain that marriageable young women have become much scarcer than a generation ago. They blame the chiefs and headmen, whose new-found wealth enables them to have large harems, thus robbing young men of possible wives. Tallensi say that girls naturally prefer to marry young men, who are more congenial to them sexually and socially, rather than old men, however prosperous or exalted they may be. But a girl cannot easily resist an offer of marriage from a chief

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. xi.
[2] Ibid., ch. iv.

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581 595 622 or headman or important elder, backed as it often is by lavish gifts to her parents, security of the bride-price, and the attraction of his wealth and power or status. Few parents would hesitate to force their daughter to accept such an offer. Chiefs and headmen do in fact have an excessive number of wives. The five biggest chiefs and headmen of the Tongo district had between them about 160 wives of all ages in 1936. Their predecessors of a generation ago would have had perhaps 30 between them, at the utmost. The extra 130 wives they have means that probably 100 other men have been cheated of wives. This has no doubt diminished the chances of early marriage for a proportion of young men, but not so greatly as the men assert. All the evidence of Tale domestic institutions and of Tale genealogies goes to show that wives were always highly prized because they were always at a premium.[1] In consequence, no unmarried girl or woman of child-bearing age lacks suitors, and no wife of child-bearing age need endure an intolerable marriage. She can always find another husband. That women take advantage of their scarcity value is what one would expect; but they do so to a smaller extent than one anticipates. This is due partly to the strength and stability of the patrilineal lineage system, expressed in inter-personal relations in the power of the *patria potestas*, and partly to the great value women set upon wifehood and motherhood. Life is a failure to a Tale woman who never becomes a wife and mother.

The Stability of Marriage

586 587 582 In consequence, partly, of the scarcity value of wives, but more, no doubt, of the conflict of loyalties and interests which has to be overcome, marriage tends to be unstable in the initial stages. A young man rarely settles down permanently with his first bride, and young women generally treat their first marriage as an experiment unless the husband is a much older man to whom they have been married by formal negotiation. In the course of collecting census material I noted the marriages of over a hundred men. There is not one man over the age of 30, approximately (excluding a few physically or psychologically abnormal men), who has failed to experience one or more unsuccessful and usually short-lived marriages. Most men of 30 to 40 can give a history of five

[582] [1] I have no demographic evidence suggesting that there was formerly or is now a marked deficiency of marriageable women as compared with men in Taleland. My own crude demographic inquiries suggest a sex ratio of about unity among the Tallensi. Polygynous marriage, therefore, inevitably means competition for wives, even though women are usually married by the age of 16 or 17, as near as one can guess, and men rarely succeed in finding a wife before the age of about 25. The natives maintain that the age of marriage for girls has been decreasing rapidly since the coming of the white man (cf. my paper, 'A Note on Fertility among the Tallensi of the Gold Coast', *Sociological Review*, xxv, 1943, 3–4).

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of this is clearest in funeral customs. If Paanbɔbis II, Kutɔbis's brother, were to die, Ɔndieso would take part in all the rites prohibited to men whose fathers are still alive. He would not refrain out of respect for Kutɔbis. 613

But in matters which involve Ziŋgan biis as a segment of Bɔɣayiedɔt yiri, Ɔndieso acknowledges Kutɔbis as his 'father'. Thus when Bontuya, who belonged to one of the other four inner lineages of Bɔɣayiedɔt biis, died, Ɔndieso went to the funeral as one of the representatives of Ziŋgan biis. He then refused to take part in the rites tabooed to men who have fathers alive, saying that if he did it would be an insult to Kutɔbis.

Ziŋgan biis also appear as a unit in reckoning prohibited degrees of kinship for purposes of marriage. As we have mentioned before, the inner lineage is the widest corporate group that is a jural unit in marriage. A distant 'sister's son' (*ahɔŋ*) of Kutɔbis would not be allowed to marry a daughter of Ɔndieso. And this criterion applies also to the inheritance of widows. If Kutɔbis were to die, Ɔndieso could not seek any of his widows in marriage, because they are his classificatory 'mothers'. On the other hand, he could do so if Kutɔbis were his classificatory 'brother' or 'grandfather'. He can court the widow of any member of any of the four other inner lineages of Bɔɣayiedɔt yiri since generation differences are not recognized beyond the boundaries of Ziŋgan yiri. 613 582

In spite of the ambiguities lurking in his relationship to Kutɔbis, the predominant affective tone it has for Ɔndieso is that he is a 'son' and will remain a 'child' (*bii*) in public affairs that involve the whole clan as long as Kutɔbis or any of his brothers is alive. Until they are dead there will always be a living if shadowy representative of paternal authority standing between Ɔndieso and his remote ancestors—and that means between him and the world at large, as it impinges on him through the corporate activities of the whole clan. This influences Ɔndieso's attitude to life considerably. He feels that he has not yet reached full social maturity, though he is much more intelligent and better informed than many of the clan elders. One sees and feels this vividly enough in one's intercourse with the natives, but it is not easy to pin down. It came out, for instance, in Ɔndieso's behaviour whenever he accompanied me to the Chief's court. He always took a back seat then, as befits a 'youngster'. It came out also in his attitude to Kutɔbis whom he despised for his uncouth ways and all-round incompetence, but yet deferred to with the modicum of respect that is correct in one's relations with a 'father'. 613 554

A man who can say 'I no longer have any fathers' associates himself with the elders, the *kpɔm*, in thought and action even if he is younger in years than some men whom he calls 'sons'. He thinks of himself as a 'father', in particular in relation to the ancestors, as one who has the duty of watching over the welfare of others. It is most marked among 613 622 554

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613 the chiefs appointed since the coming of the white man. Unlike their
●622 predecessors they were mostly young men when they were appointed,
554 some of them still having their natural fathers alive. But 'a chief', the Tallensi say, 'is the father of his clan. No one can claim fatherhood over a chief' (*ɔɔ pu dɔya na'ab la*—literally, no one has begotten a chief). Whatever their individual shortcomings, Tale chiefs have one thing in common, and that is a strong sense of responsibility for the welfare of their own clans.

778 As usual, this conception has a religious precipitate. It emerges in
554 the status of a man's *Yin* shrine.[1] A man's *Yin* shrine is not fully established until it is ritually 'built' (*me*). Before that it is only a temporary and incomplete entity—even though it has been receiving sacrifices for perhaps twenty years. And usually it is not until a man belongs to the generation of fathers in his inner or medial lineage—that is, attains the status of being 'fatherless' in most social and ritual situations—that he 'builds' his *Yin*. Thus it often happens that a man dies before his *Yin* is built and his son has to carry out this rite. This applies also to the last stage in the development of a man's *Yin*, its removal to the *zanzɔe*, the open space before the gateway. His father's *Yin* shrine is taken indoors and his is put in its place. This is a sign that he has reached the climax of his life. He is not only fatherless, but is perhaps
[888] the last of the oldest generation of the inner lineage. He has 'built a house (*me yiri*)', that is, has sons and grandsons to carry on the line and can spend what is left to him of his old age in honoured ease.

601 It must not be thought from the foregoing that Tallensi never extend
613 the term 'father' outside the inner lineage. They speak of all men in the clan or the maximal lineage who belong to the oldest age groups as 'fathers'—and by analogy address any old woman married into the clan as 'mother' and any older clansman as 'older brother'. But these are all courtesy titles. A man will always treat an old man of a different inner lineage to whom he gives the courtesy title of 'father' with respect; but he does not owe him any filial duties or come under his authority directly.

613 To round off this picture, let us return again to Ziŋgan biis for a
554 moment and consider the case of Da'amo'o (aged about 35). He is Kutɔbis's late older full brother's (*bier-soog*) son. He occupies the same homestead as Kutɔbis, but has his own gateway and is economically independent of Kutɔbis. Kutɔbis is his proxy father. In no circumstances can Da'amo'o claim to be 'fatherless'. He is not fond of Kutɔbis; but he cannot escape from his jural and ritual authority. Kutɔbis succeeded to his late brother's social role in full; hence Da'amo'o is his 'child' in all ritual and jural respects. This comes out in Da'amo'o's attitude to life. When a man in this position is asked about affairs that concern the clan, or even his inner lineage as a whole, he will often reply 'I am a child, I do not know. You must ask my older brothers and my

[1] Cf. p. 227 below.

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eye was caught by an old woman who seemed to be particularly privileged, as she walked about giving orders, and greeting the guests. I was not surprised to learn that she was Teroog's only surviving full sister (*tasoog*). He presented her to me with great pride, holding her hand affectionately. She sat beside him throughout the rites, listening intently to his long invocation to their ancestors, prompting him once or twice, and helping him as if she and he were jointly succeeding to the ownership of the *boyar*. One could see that the notion that any woman might well have been in her brother's place in the social system if it were not for an accident of birth has a very concrete meaning to the Tallensi.

Full (*soog*) siblings, as we have already related, constantly visit one another, bringing and taking away gifts. When a woman has a baby, her full sister hastens to her with a bundle of firewood or a dish of soup ingredients. If a person falls ill, his full siblings come running to see him. When Kuur fell and broke his ankle there was consternation among his immediate relatives. Two of his half-brothers rushed off at once to consult a diviner about the accident—no laughing matter, as they well realized, for a man in the fifties—while his full sister stayed behind to nurse him. His wife hovered about helplessly, only approaching him when his sister called for some more hot water. The sister came to him every day for the next week or so and was his most devoted nurse.

We have described before, also, how full brothers generally hold together, economically and residentially, longer than half-brothers and often throughout their lives. This is due, basically, to their close identification with and attachment to each other. One constantly comes across examples of this. Samane was the Chief of Tongo's right-hand man and probably the only person who had the chief's absolute trust. Why, I once asked Samane, did the chief not put the same trust in his own son Saa? 'Don't you see', said Samane, 'the chief and I are born of one father and one mother. We are as one. He will have no secrets from me or I from him. A man's brother is more to him than his son. Saa wouldn't care[1] if the chief died and he succeeded. I want my brother to live, for his being chief is just as if I were chief myself.' Again, one of the very few cases I knew of men working abroad sending home regular remittances of money was Soyar's policeman brother. When I praised him, Soyar said, as if in explanation, 'He is my *soog*'.

This comes out very clearly, too, in the property relations of full brothers. Men of the same joint family borrow one another's clothes freely, though the individual ownership of the clothes is never in doubt and the owner's permission is always necessary. But full brothers behave almost as if their clothes were their common property. Hence when a man dies his full brother often takes some of his clothes, instead of leaving all to his sons. There is also a specific ritual sanction in this relationship, the common subjection of full brothers to their mother's

[1] He was the chief's first-born son. Cf. p. 225 above.

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to be treated as real siblings and 'too close' to be treated as if they were non-clansfolk in these matters. So one cannot marry a clan-sister but may have sexual relations with her, and one cannot abduct a clansman's wife, but to seduce her is not a sin. That adultery with a clansman's wife is very rare and is vehemently reprobated is a sign of the strength of clan solidarity, not of the strength of the sibling tie between clansmen.

A further point of significance is that whereas competition between brothers of the same inner lineage for wives or for politico-ritual office is held to be improper, distant clan-brothers may and do compete. No self-respecting youth would court a girl whom his brother of the same inner lineage is seeking in marriage unless it be on his brother's behalf; but it is a very common thing for several young men of the same maximal lineage or clan to court the same girl in friendly rivalry. Again, Tallensi say that until very recently, when the white man's criteria of suitability for a chiefship superseded the traditional standards, two men of the same inner lineage would never or very rarely compete for a vacant chiefship.[1] In the past, if a chiefship fell vacant, it was generally the oldest men of the clan, heads of at least medial lineages, who competed for it. Speaking of these matters Tallensi say: 'A man and his brother[2] do not like each other (*nit ni u mabiiga pu boot taaba*).' To win a chiefship, they assert, a man will not hesitate to resort secretly to medicine shrines, or to make extravagant promises to his ancestor shrines and the Earth, in order to compass the defeat of his rivals.

The Social Equivalence of Siblings Reconsidered

The solidarity and equality of siblings is a reflex of their social equivalence, but these do not mean the same thing. Equality exists between siblings; their social equivalence lies in their relations with the community at large, as has already been indicated. Many features of the configuration of sentiment and conduct we have analysed in the preceding pages acquire a new shade of meaning if we recognize them as indices of the social equivalence of siblings as well as being expressions of their equality.

Siblings are socially equivalent by reason of their genealogical identity, in whole, as between full (uterine, i.e. *soog*) siblings, or in part, as between patrilineal siblings. There are degrees of social equivalence corresponding to degrees of genealogical identity; so that *soog* siblings are more nearly equivalent than half-siblings and half-siblings than ortho-cousins, and so on.

In regard to their social roles, their rights, and their duties, wherever these are determined by descent, siblings are therefore the more closely identified the nearer they are to one another genealogically, and that

[1] A chiefship is always vested in a particular clan or maximal lineage. Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, ch. iv.

[2] A 'brother' of a different medial lineage is meant here.

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602 613 577 members of his inner lineage, at what he called the deliberate flouting of his rights as *biiraan*, owner of the child. A long squabble between the two lineages followed which eventually petered out in a compromise. This may seem a storm in a teacup; it was taken very seriously by a dozen Tale elders.

593 582 597 The outstanding example of the retention of patrilineal rights is found in the case of a girl who grows up at her *ahəb yiri*. Whatever her personal relations with her father's lineage may be, it is they who receive the placation gifts and the bride-price when she marries. The *ahəb*'s share is only the 'cow of rearing'.

597 593 Cases of girls living as foster children at their *ahəb yiri* up to marriageable age are uncommon. I knew of only one girl who was living with her *ahəb* and would probably not be taken back by her father's people before she reached marriageable age. A girl living with her mother's brother is usually there because she was sent to her maternal grandmother in early childhood owing to the death of her mother. She may be left there until she is 11 or 12, but she is then generally fetched by her father's people. A boy has more freedom. He cannot be forced to return to his paternal home if he does not wish to do so.

773 604 622 An interesting reflection of the conventional ideas on the relations of an *ahəb* and his foster *ahəŋ* is found in the story commonly told of how certain politico-ritual offices came to be transferred from one clan to another. The tale is so stereotyped that it can be regarded as a standard myth. It is alleged of several of the lesser chiefships that they were originally vested in different clans from those that now hold them—usually clans that are closely related to the present holders by local or ritual ties. The last chief of the original line, the myth relates, had his sister's son, a member of the clan now holding the chiefship, living with him. The chief put great trust in his *ahəŋ*; and, either because he had no sons or because his sons were indifferent to politico-ritual affairs, the chief always delegated his *ahəŋ* to represent him. Thus, he used to send the *ahəŋ* as his messenger whenever he had to communicate with the senior chief who was the elector to that chiefship. In this way the *ahəŋ* became known to the elector. When his *ahəb* died he hastened stealthily to the elector with the news, taking lavish gifts along with him. Knowing him so well from their previous contacts and persuaded by the rich gifts he brought, the elector thereupon immediately conferred the chiefship on him. Thus the chiefship came into the possession of its present holders. A similar story is told to explain the dominant position of the lineage of Lakum yiri in the politico-ritual structure of Ba'ari, in spite of their being an attached lineage.[1]

622 183 When it is pointed out that such actions are contrary to custom and would not be allowed at present, the natives have two answers. Firstly, they say, unscrupulous people never hesitate to break a customary rule

[1] *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 88.

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if it suits their purpose. Men have always been prepared to go to great lengths to win an office so coveted as that of a chief or tɛndaana. In addition, they argue, the breach of custom is not so outrageous as it seems. For the *ahɔŋ* can claim that if his mother had been born a man he would have had an unquestionable right to the office.

This argument gains strength from the fact that in certain cases an *ahɔŋ* or a sororal lineage is delegated to exercise rights vested in a particular office or lineage. Thus the people of Tongo maintain that in former times the Chief of Tongo always had the right to 'strip (*yɛa*)' all locust-bean trees in Tongo and the adjacent settlements, including Tɛnzugu. Now it would have been neither tactful nor dignified for the chief to send his wives or clansmen to strip locust-bean trees growing in another settlement. Therefore every chief delegated one of his 'sister's sons' in each settlement to harvest the pods for him. The *ahɔŋ* was entitled to keep some of the locust-bean pods he harvested, but had to send the bulk to the Chief of Tongo. Tongo people say that the 'sisters' sons' gradually ceased sending the chief's share to him and took full possession of the trees, in much the same way as a man obtains *de facto* possession of land loaned to one of his ancestors by a matrilateral kinsman.

Certain powers normally held by tɛndaanas only are sometimes vested in lineages that do not have tɛndaanas. Thus at Tongo the people of Seug live on land that comes under the ritual jurisdiction of the Zoo Yiraaŋ.[1] But when they dig a new grave they do not send for the Yiraaŋ to come and 'mark out the grave (*kyɛbɔg voor*)' ritually, as they should do, according to the letter of custom. The head of one segment of Seug performs the rite instead. He keeps the carcass of the goat sacrificed, but sends the head and skin to the Zoo Yiraaŋ. This arrangement is found wherever people of one clan live on land that falls under the ritual jurisdiction of another clan. The regular explanation is that an ancestor of the lineage head who actually marks out the grave was an *ahɔŋ* of the tɛndaana who had ritual jurisdiction over the land when the lineage first settled there, and that the tɛndaana delegated this ritual duty to him and his successors.

The Ahɔŋ as Intermediary

By his genealogical position an *ahɔŋ* forms a link between his father's lineage and his mother's lineage; and by extension this applies to every degree of matrilateral kinship. Hence an *ahɔŋ* is always chosen as intermediary in all private jural and ritual transactions between a segment of one clan and a segment of another. Marriage is the most important of these transactions. A key role in all the jural and ritual formalities necessary for the conclusion of a marriage is that of the

[1] Cf. *Dynamics of Clanship*, p. 169.

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184 The specific genealogical links of a family act in a similar way. In
867 the extreme case, they may alter a person's whole life. The story of
463 Puvələmra is typical, though such occurrences are not usual. He was a Kpatia man whose parents had died in his boyhood. For special reasons he had come to live with his mother's brother at Gbizug. There he grew up, and when I met him, a man of 35–40, he was to all intents a Gbizug man, a complete partisan of that lineage, professing its ideology, subject to its ritual restrictions, and practising the craft of leatherwork as he had learnt it from his mother's brother. He will probably return to Kpatia when he succeeds to his patrimony, there to be assimilated to a rather different ritual system, but transmitting to his sons and grandsons the art of leatherwork and the habits of industry learnt from his mother's brother. Many Tale lineages trace peculiar features of their residence or kinship, or the possession of special ritual, medical, or technological knowledge, to an ancestor with a history like that of Puvələmra.

592 Finally, the phase of family history coinciding with an early period
●622 of a person's education—the status of one or more senior members
861 of his family, or the holding of ritual or political office by any of them —may have a significant differentiating influence on his or her social space. The homestead of a lineage or clan head is the focus of intercommunication both of the constituent parts of that grouping, the sublineages and joint families, and of the lineage or clan with its neighbours, not only in secular affairs but also in ritual matters. This is even more evident with people who hold offices. There is a constant coming and going of people at the house of a chief or clan-head: a complainant has brought a case to lay before the chief; the elders of the clan have come to consult him about the rain; somebody's daughter recently married has deserted her husband and the indignant son-in-law is brought to the clan-head to discuss the affair; a distant cognatic kinsman has brought a goat to sacrifice to the spirit of the supreme ancestor of the lineage; orders have been received that the young men must turn out for rest-house repairs in two or three days; and so forth. Transactions of this sort generally take place in public and the children of the house are always avid listeners. If any one has to be summoned or a message delivered a youth or a small boy is sent.

184 The members of such a house, especially those who have reached
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by dry stretches of sand remains. The river during the rains is simply known as *miyar*, "river"; but each pool has a name extended to the corresponding division of the river banks on both sides.

The end of the dry season and the commencement of the agricultural season receives social affirmation in a great ritual festival the *Gəlib*, celebrated by one group of Tallensi clans. The series of rites and ceremonies includes a communal and ritual fishing of a pool *Gəlimbiuŋ*, dedicated to *Gəlib* (not in the Volta). The fishing itself is a ritual performance in which the size of the catch counts for very little. But this inaugurates the season of the utilitarian fishing expeditions, none of which may precede the fishing of *Gəlimbiuŋ*. The magical intention of *Gəlib* is to ensure the fertility of crops, women, and livestock, success in all food-getting enterprises, security from danger, disease and death. Fishing is frequently mentioned in the exhortations addressed to the ancestor spirits during the *Gəlib* rites. The *Gəlib*, however, is more in the nature of a general blessing than of specifically efficacious magic.

Some ten to fourteen days after the close of *Gəlib* the first of the communal fishing expeditions takes place. Every owner decides for himself the day on which he wishes to fish his pool. Thus it often happens that two or more fishing expeditions to different parts of the Volta occur on the same day. During the month I recorded the occurrence of ten expeditions; but as many more certainly escaped my notice. I accompanied three of these expeditions.

An impending fishing expedition is announced through the two main channels customary for the publication of such events. A day or two in advance, after darkness falls, the owner causes it to be cried (*tuol*) from the house-tops of his settlement. The news subsequently spreads throughout the country, from mouth to mouth. But alternatively or in addition, he employs an even more effective means of publicity, the market. Members of his family and neighbours are sent on market day to inform the friends and acquaintances they meet. Soon it is known to every person in the market, to which people throng from every quarter of the Tallensi and neighbouring tribal areas.

A message may also be sent to the *Tɔŋraana*, the chief of highest rank in the Tallensi country; but this is an act of deference not a political obligation, and is observed principally by the minor chiefs who have a clan relationship with Tongo. So also the chief of Kurugu, Paramount Chief of the division, is usually apprised.

So much for the economic, seasonal and public context of fishing. On the appointed day ceaseless processions of men, women, adolescent boys and girls, and even children of 9 and 10 years, converge upon the selected pool. Some of them come from eight or nine miles away by winding paths through low but rough and sparsely inhabited bush. The men and boys carry bows and arrows, spears and axes, as well as their fishing nets, partly as a precaution against meeting with a hyena or leopard or some game, partly out of habit. The women, balancing their fishing baskets on the head, set out with the men. But as the procession swells they tend to drop behind to join their fellows, and come along

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226 65 and to give moral support to a man of their own rank, members of his own family, and the *bayardaana*, who, in addition to the sacrificial animals he receives from the owner, is entitled to a present of fish.

226 Why then do owners of pools call out communal fishing expeditions? They themselves say "because our ancestors did so." A more adequate explanation suggests itself from an examination of the fishing situation in relation to the technique of fishing and to the conditions of ownership of pools. Fishing with hook and line is practised by a few people throughout the year, but the technique is rudimentary, suitable for the capture of an occasional fish and not for the provision of a regular supply. The net technique, on the other hand, cannot be satisfactorily employed by individuals. It is essentially a communal technique. There is thus a practical necessity for communal fishing.

226 423 554 Principally, however, fishing is correlated with the ownership of pools. With few exceptions appointment to a chieftainship by the Paramount Chief of the Division constitutes the title to the ownership of a particular pool. Of the exceptions, I have record of one authentic case of a pool owned by a single lineage and transmitted according to the laws of inheritance. Tradition said that it had been purchased by the ancestor of this lineage from a chief in a time of severe famine. To organize a communal fishing [622] expedition is thus a prerogative of chieftainship[1]. It maintains the prestige and proclaims the status of a chief beyond the confines of his own limited territory. Striking proof of this occurred when the Chief of Yinduri announced an expedition to his pool. When the people arrived there, the pool was found to be so choked with weeds that fishing was impossible. Someone from another settlement suggested fishing a neighbouring pool, belonging to another chief, instead. The people of Yinduri were so incensed by this affront to the dignity of their chief that they attacked and beat the offender. Besides, [685] such an act of communal poaching would have exposed them to the penalty of a heavy fine.

226 621 Chiefs, consequently, desire large attendances drawn from a wide radius at fishing expeditions. Actually, however, the territorial range of the attendance at any expedition is limited by the factor of contiguity—the further a settlement is from that of the owner of the pool, the smaller will be the contingent coming from it; while the social constitution of the attendance is conditioned by the principles of kinship. Thus, a man will always accompany an expedition arranged by his mother's brother or other kinsman, even if he is from a distant settlement, since he would probably be permitted to keep his catch, and would be less drawn to expeditions under the auspices of non-kinsmen. Similarly, the *Namoos* clans turn out in far greater numbers to expeditions arranged by *Namoos* chiefs than to those of the *Tallis* chiefs. Another factor influencing the social constitution of fishing expeditions is that people tend to go in family parties.

[554] [1] A commoner who owns a river, as in the case cited above, naturally follows the general practice and on the occasion of the fishing expedition enjoys a prestige equivalent to that of a chief.

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scattered compounds, or whether closer building between compounds, on land previously available for farming, enforced the system because of the increasing distance to bush land. The result is the same, however, from our point of view. Farmers living on the edge of the densely populated areas frequently have bush farms, which are farmed by shifting methods of cultivation, as well as compound farms which are farmed continuously.

Land Tenure.

The customs associated with the acquisition and retention of land are intimately bound up with the religion of the people. Land is recognized as having a "spirit" which requires placating to deliver of its goodness. This is done through the "tindana" (Nankani), who is the intermediary between the "spirit of the land" and the people. It is frequently heard that "Chiefs command people, not land", and a Chief approaches the land through the "tindana". Every area has a tindana; if an area develops to an unmanageable size, a new "tindana" may be appointed by the tindana who exercised authority there before it developed. The area administered by a Chief, however, is fixed; so that Chiefs' and tindanas' boundaries do not necessarily coincide.

To acquire a new area of land, *i.e.*, land not known to be claimed by anyone, a prospective occupant will generally first approach the Chief of the district and state his requirements. If the Chief is satisfied as to the probity of the applicant he will refer him to the tindana, who has the final say in the matter. An application is seldom, if ever, refused. A suitable offering is made through the tindana to propitiate the spirit of the land, and the tindana may indicate a site for the new compound, and make suggestions with regard to the crops to be planted. The question of rent does not arise since there are no "money crops" and agricultural land has no value in the economic sense; there are a number of seasonal dues, however, given voluntarily to the spirit of the land, through the tindana.

In demarcating areas, such natural objects as stone outcrops, water-courses, and trees, are observed. This explains the reason for the irregular outline of most farms. Once land has been conveyed through the tindana, it is held in perpetuity by the family receiving it. Presumably, when a compound is first built in a bush area, sufficient land exists immediately around it to satisfy the requirements of the family. When the family grows up and the elder sons marry, they may choose to build compounds of their own. A new compound is made as close to the parent compound as possible, either upon a new land acquired from the tindana, or upon land

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184 Namoos and Tallis have a common cultural idiom, just as they have a single language. Their economic system is uniform and inclusive of both communities; their laws of land tenure, of inheritance and successions, of marriage and legitimacy are identical. The ritual practices and the mystical notions of their religious and magical institutions are the same in form and dynamical character, even if they sometimes differ in content, especially in the domestic cult of the ancestors. This common corpus of social definitions and of pragmatic organization is the inevitable correlate of the conditions of social and economic intercourse normally prevailing between the two communities. They have been intermarrying for generations, and this entails common legal techniques and principles, as well as a single type of domestic organization. They exchange commodities in trade, gifts, and in the discharge of kinship obligations: for every Namoo has numerous cognatic kinsmen among the Tallis and the Tallis among the Namoos. Kindred come into frequent contact with one another, not only on ritual occasions, such as sacrifices to ancestors and in funeral ceremonies, but also in ordinary social and personal affairs.

621 Upon this homogenous basis of social and economic relations between individuals and familial groupings is superposed a political structure the ●622 essential principle of which is a polar opposition defined and emphasized 793 by the most stringent ritual observances. The head of the Tongo Namoos has the title Naa or Chief. The chieftanship (naam) was brought to Tongo by its founder, Mosur, from Mampurugu. It remains the absolute prerogative of his descendants. Every new chief of Tongo buys his rank from an hereditary elector who represents the chief of Mampurugu. The colonies and co-clans of Tongo elect chiefs of lesser grade. But no Tallis may hold the title Naa. Their heads of clans and lineages are typically entitled Tendaana, (literally "owner of the land"). The principal Tendaanaships in the land are attained by rights of patrilineal succession. The chief of Tongo claims suzerainty over all the Tale settlements. Actually his executive authority reaches only to his own settlement, while a Tendaana's executive authority hardly extends beyond his own lineage. Balancing the chiefs' political claims, the Tendaanas assert their precedence in virtue of their "ownership of the land." Moreover, each of the principal Tendaanas claims precedence over all the others, such is the degree of local autonomy. Normally an occasion never arises where these rival claims can be pitted against one another. They are vaunted in the presence of the ethnologist, or in the ritual and domestic assemblies of kinsfolk.

784 Chief and Tendaana, Namoos and Tallis, are further separated by a 184 barrier of taboos, many of them symbolic. The chief may not tread upon

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the earth with his bare foot; he may not pluck a blade of grass or engage in agriculture, and so on. Tendaanas observe none of these taboos. They again may not wear any cloth garment, but only skins, for a white gown of cloth is put upon the chief at his investiture. Cloth garments, horses, guns, are traditionally tabooed to all Tallis, since they were characteristic of the Namoos. Chief and Tendaana regard these taboos as of the very substance of their respective offices, as moral obligations to their respective communities. So also property lost on the land or stray animals must be handed over to a Tendaana on pain of supernaturally inflicted death. But stray cows, dogs, or vagrant humans go to the chief. Most important of all, the religious practices of the Tallis are dominated by the cult of the earth shrines (tɔŋbana)—sacred groves, streams, pools, etc.—to which the Namoos as a group have no access.

The polarity thus institutionally registered is paralleled by standardized political attitudes. In the sporadic fights of pre-European days Tallis and Namoos were traditional enemies. This is not only recollected in tales but vividly expressed in the military pantomine which accompanies every funeral ceremony. Tallis at their funerals fling taunts and challenges at the Namoos, and the latter retaliate at their funerals. When his patriotism is aroused, a member of one group will speak of the other group superciliously or derogatorily, forgetting for the moment, perhaps, that they are his own mother's kinsmen.

Between Chief and Tendaana, between Namoos and Tallis, there are barriers, but not a gulf, an equilibrium and not an irreconciliable disjunction. The fulcrum of this equilibrium is the Tendaana of the Gbizug lineage. Geographically placed between the Namoos and the Tallis, he is the ritual and political mediator between them. The principal Tendaana of Baari can directly approach the Chief of Tongo; but the Tendaanas of the Hill Tallis or of non-Tale clans can only approach the Chief through the Gbizug Tendaana. In the old days it was he who made peace between the traditional enemies after a fight. A ritual and social equilibrium of high tension exists between Gbizug and Tongo, symbolized in the peculiar relations of the Tendaana and the Chief. Tradition, distorted by each side to its own aggrandizement, relates that it was the first Gbizug Tendaana who received and gave land to settle on to the ancestor of the Tongo Namoos. The final and most solemn of the rites by which a new chief of Tongo is inducted, rites which will be referred to again, must be carried out by the Gbizug Tendaana. Upon him rests the responsibility and the privilege of making the sacrifices for the most sacrosanct fetish of the Tongo Chieftainship, that which safeguards the life and well-being of the Chief and thus

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the prosperity of the land. Though it is housed in his compound, neither the Chief nor any of his clansmen may set eyes on it; only the Gbizug Tendaana and his lineage may. The Chief speaks of it with an awe which is almost terror. The balance is adjusted by the Chief's rainmaking powers. Only Namoos may own rain medicine, which was brought to Taleland by their ancestor. When drought is prolonged, all the Tendaanas, led by the Gbizug Tendaana, formally call upon and implore the Chief to see to it that rain falls. So great is his rainmaking power that rain will fall at once if he merely declares, in the name of his ancestors, that their wishes will be satisfied. Such, in fact, proved to be the case in 1934.

Again, this ritual polarity is paralleled in social and personal attitudes. The Chief and the Gbizug Tendaana, in private conversation, comment with a mixture of pride, scorn, and fear each upon his opposite number.

Among the most striking mechanisms of this equilibrium are the ritual festivals. The various settlements are always classified in terms of them, and the natives never tire of dilating enthusiastically upon them.

Ritual and dance are the two components of every festival; the former usually esoteric, the latter public though exclusive. During the rainy season, which lasts roughly from April to September, ritual and group activities are almost completely ousted by agriculture. In July-August the early millet is harvested, but the major crops, the guinea corn and late millet, still stand.[2] The Tallensi have a lunar calendar, and the last month of the rains is called the "Moon of Waters" (Kuom ŋmarig). An ethnologist cannot, alas, be in two places at the same time. I was living among the Namoos in September, 1934, and shall therefore describe the events of this and the next month from their point of view.

Weeks in advance the approaching festivals are the dominant theme of conversation for man, woman, and child. The ceremonial cycle is inaugurated by the Baari Tendaana, who ritually "throws away the water," i.e. abolishes the rains on the first day of the new month. This is announced by a burst of hallooing, which commences at Baari and sweeps across the country, the signal that the festivals have come round again.

That night the people of Baari begin their celebrations. At Tongo, on the next day, the youths and maidens are putting finishing touches to their festive costumes. On the fourth day of the moon a deputation of elders waits on the Chief, to remind him of his traditional obligation to summon a diviner on the following day.

[2] The calendrical incidence of the ritual festivals and their relation to the annual productive cycle are more fully set out in M. and S. L. Fortes, Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi (Africa, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1936).

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As to the following, their meanings are known but the context of circumstances can only be guessed.

N-NYE-FARA, I have seen sorrow; ɔN-TI-WARI, who gives something for nothing? SAYA-TI-BA, submit to them; ɔN-DIE-Sɔ, he who accepts (humbly) is better; ZI-KIHIB, men who know no taboos; KU-ŋAAŋ-BA, will not overwhelm them; BA-Eŋ-KA-MI, let them do it and find out.

As I have already noted, the same names are used for both males and females, occasionally with a suffix to indicate the sex of the person. But there is one respect in which women's names differ from men's. When they marry they are known in their husband's home only by a nominal form of the name of their natal settlement or clan, never by their given name. The given name is used only when they are at home among their own family and clan. This is one of the ways in which the strict separation of a woman's role in life as wife and mother, on the one hand, and as daughter and sister, on the other, is symbolised. I have described these ideas more fully in *The Dynamics of Clanship*, CH. IX, and in *The Web of Kinship*, CH. IV, and therefore say no more about them here.

One more topic must be briefly discussed. The naming customs I have described all belong to what Tallensi call "conferring names" — *pit wu'uri*. It is clear that names so given do serve very precisely to distinguish individuals. What about the other naming process, the uttering or announcing of names — *pot wu'uri*?

This takes place whenever a man is elected to a politico-ritual office as a chief (*na'ab*) among Namoo clans or as a tendaana or *bɔyar* officiant among the Talis[11]). The installation ceremonies include a short period of seclusion in a room where the clan and Earth shrines are housed. Then, following the common pattern of such *rites de passage*, the new chief or priest announces the names by which he wishes to be henceforth known. He has put aside his former social personality and the new one he assumes must be symbolised by an appropriate name. From his chamber of seclusion he announces his new names through the elder whose traditional duty it is to proclaim them. As a rule, three names are proclaimed, and as the last is given out the people assembled for the ceremonies shout in acclamation. The new chief or priest then comes out himself. Hereafter it is a taboo for his given name to be mentioned and he goes down to posterity by his new name, or rather by that one of them for which he shows most preference. I might add that it is impressive to see what a profound change a man seems to undergo when he is elected to a politico-ritual office. It is the supreme honour to which a man and all his kin can aspire, the greatest renown that can come to a name. Yet it is also a heavy burden. The new name stands for constant watchfulness and responsibility. Among the Tallensi, these duties are largely expressed in religious concepts and observances, though they are related to vital necessities such as the regularity of rainfall, peace and the absence of disease. To ensure this, chiefs and tendaanas have to keep ritual taboos, make sacrifices to the ancestors, arbitrate honestly in disputes, in short, watch over the welfare of the land and the people. The new names stand for this.

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[11]) See *The Dynamics of Clanship*, passim, for details.

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553 551 The Tallensi call these accession names *na'am wu'uri*, chiefship name, or *tendaan wu'uri*, tendaana name, or more generally *saam-wu'uri*, a term colloquially used for what we call nick-names, but meaning the name by which a person is publicly acclaimed. Accession names are, of course, "thought up" by the office-holder elect and so resemble the ordinary open names, which indeed they parallel in function. But they are interesting because they reflect not only the circumstances of the individual's achieving the honour of office, but his ideas about himself, his political role, and his historical position. In the legendary history of Tale clans the names of leaders often sum up the significance of the clan in the total social organisation. Thus an early Gbizug Tendaana is said to have been named GERIBAZAA, to mix all together, a name that well represents the present social and ritual functions of this tendaana as the intermediary between the Namoos and the Talis[12]).

553 551 A few examples only are needed to illustrate what I have said. I take, first, some well known chiefs' accession names.

● 622 One of the famous chiefs of Tongo was NAMBƆƔADA, still crawling. This name was taken by a young chief who announced that he was, as yet, but an infant in chiefship, "still a crawler", but would soon grow up as a chief and do great things. A more recent chief called himself DEŊ-TIES, short for *Deŋ-ties-kunkɔŋ-na'am*, first to think of what to do will not lack a chiefship. He had acted quickly to seek election, before anybody else had thought of it, and implied that this was a promise of how he would act in the future. KU-NDU-ZOOR, cannot climb a hill, was the proud name taken by a chief whom I have previously mentioned. The reference was to the fact that water cannot run up-hill. Had he not excelled his competitors he would have been like water, unable to rise superior to the rest. Alas, his short chiefship was saddened by famine and his successor took to himself the name of NA-LEB-SEUG, it will turn to the rainy season. However long and hard a dry season may seem, he declared, it must give way to the rains at length. Coming after a famine — a long dry season, as it were — he proclaimed himself as the bringer of rain and so of food. The list can be extended but I will give only one more example. The Chief of Tongo, when I was there in 1935—37, had the given name of KPA'AMA, and this is how he is named, in breach of native ideas of propriety, in some Administrative records of the time[13]). His chiefly name was NA-NAAM-BIUŊ, will change into a lake. This is short for *Bul-sɔŋ-na-naam-biuŋ*, a good spring (rising in a small pool) will change into a lake. He meant that he was as yet only a small pool, an inexperienced and young chief, but given time to grow he would change into a lake, a great and beneficent chief — — beneficent, because water, being scarce in Taleland, is thought of as a very valuable thing.

551 553 793 The accession names of tendaanas and other holders of priestly offices follow the same pattern. One tendaana I saw installed proclaimed his new name as DOƔ-BAZAA, begetter of all. He wished everybody to know that he regarded himself in his new role as the father of all his people, watching over their welfare as a father watches over that of his children.

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[12]) See my previously cited books for details of this division.

[13]) Cf. also RATTRAY, op. cit. vol. II, ch. 33.